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St. Albans and Herts Architectural and Archæological Society.

PROCEEDINGS.

Meeting held at the Herts County Museum, October 31st, 1902.

Present—The Very Rev. the Dean of St. Albans, in the chair; also Mr. and Mrs. Knight, the Rev. W. H. and Mrs. Turle, Mr. and Mrs. F. G. Kitton, Messrs. E. Stanley Kent, E. S. Wolfe, G. Gaffe, W. R. L. Lowe, A. E. Gibbs, F. Palmer, C. Johnson, A. E. Ekins; and Mr. and Mrs. C. H. Ashdown; with the Hon. Secretaries, Mr. W. Page and Mr. R. J. Hillier, and many others.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The following new members were elected:—Mr. F. J. Linzell, Mr. Hugh Pedder, Mr. H. Maurice, Mr. Leighton, Miss English, and Miss Rumball.

Mr. F. G. Kitton moved the following resolution, which was carried unanimously:—"That the thanks of this Society be accorded to Mr. Harry Brown (of Messrs. Munt, Brown & Co.), to Mr. T. A. Martin, manager of the Factory, and to Messrs. Hiskett and Ewer, decorators, for the sympathetic manner in which they have carried out the restoration of the moulded plaster work on the front of the Old House, No. 13, Fishpool Street; and, that the Society shall notify its appreciation of the action of Mr. E. S. Harvey, the present owner of the Ancient Buildings, and Mr. T. Foster-Woodman, the architect, at the upper corner of George Street, in preserving that interesting structure, and in exposing to view the timber framing, which had been previously obscured."

Mrs. F. T. Knight then read a most interesting and exhaustive Paper "On the History and Times of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and his connection with the Abbey of St. Albans."

After some remarks on the Paper, by the Very Rev. the Dean, Mr. Gaffe, and Mr. Kitton, a vote of thanks to Mrs. Knight for her admirable paper was proposed by Mr. Page, seconded by Mr. Ekins, and carried unanimously.

A vote of thanks to the Dean, proposed by Mr. Kitton, seconded by Mr. A. E. Gibbs, was carried unanimously.

LEWIS EVANS.

Dec. 2nd, 1902.

General Meeting of the Society in conjunction with the "Hertfordshire Natural History Society and Field Club," held at the Herts County Museum, December 2nd, 1902.

Present—Mr. Lewis Evans in the chair; also Mr. Kitton, Mr. and Mrs. A. E. Gibbs, Mr. Knight, Mr. and Mrs. Hine. the Rev. Canon Wigram, Mrs. Pope, Mr. Hopkinson, Mr. F. Palmer, and others, with Mrs. Knight, Hon. Secretary.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. Gibbs announced that a copy of the "Transactions for the Year, 1883," which had been lost, had been kindly replaced by the gift of a new copy of that date from Mrs. Kitton.

The following new member was elected:—Mrs. Pope, Ridgmont Road, proposed by Mrs. Knight, and seconded by Mr. A. J. Rhodes.

Mr. Herbert George Fordham then read an interesting Paper on "County Maps and the Books in which they are found, with special reference to the Maps of Hertfordshire," illustrated by a collection of Topographical Works and County Atlases.

At the conclusion of the Paper, the Chairman expressed the thanks of the two Societies to the lecturer, remarking upon the great amount of research such a subject required, and which Mr. Fordham had evidently given to it, as shown by the exhaustive character of his Paper.

The formal vote of thanks to the lecturer was proposed by Mr. Hopkinson, seconded by Canon Wigram, and carried unanimously.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman was proposed by Mr. Kitton, seconded by Mr. Montague Jones, and carried unanimously.

W. H. Turle.

February 19th, 1903.

Meeting of the Society, held at the Herts County Museum on February 19th, 1903.

Present—The Rev. W. H. Turle, in the chair; also Messrs. Rhodes, Wilton Hall, W. J. Hardy, J. Blake, Grimwood, H. Gilpin, S. Flint Clarkson, Mrs. and Miss Fox Bourne, Mrs. Blake, Mrs. H. Gilpin, Mrs. Tarte, Mrs. Hansard, Mrs. Clarkson, Miss Rumball, Mr. Knight, and the Secretaries, Mrs. Knight and Mr. R. J. Hillier.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. W. H. C. Boswell, proposed by Mr. Hillier, and seconded by Mr. Blake, was unanimously elected a member of the Society.

Mr. Henderson then read a Paper, written by Mrs. Henderson, on "St. Wulfstan, and his connection with St. Albans."

The Paper proved to be extremely interesting, and, as the chairman remarked, showed evidence of great literary skill and research. A unanimous vote of thanks was accorded to Mrs. Henderson, on the motion of the Chairman, seconded by Mr. Clarkson.

A vote of thanks, proposed by Mr. Henderson, and seconded by Mr. A. J. Rhodes, was accorded to the Rev. W. H. Turle for taking the chair.

Henry J. Toulmin.

April 23rd, 1903.

The Annual Meeting of the Society, held at the Herts County Museum, on April 23rd, 1903.

Present—H. J. Toulmin, Esq., in the chair; also Messrs. A. E. Ekins, A. Whitford Anderson, F. G. Kitton, A. E. Gibbs, F. W. Kinnier Tarte, J. F. Knight, the Hon. Secretaries, Mrs. M. C. Knight and Mr. R. J. Hillier, and many others.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The Treasurer's Balance Sheet was presented and passed.

The Secretaries' Report as to the number of meetings and membership was also presented, and considered satisfactory.

A letter from Mr. Page was read regretting that owing to ill-health, he was obliged to resign his post as Secretary, and the said resignation was accepted with deep regret.

The following officers were elected for the ensuing year :—

President: The Very Rev. the Dean of St Albans; Vice-Presidents: Lord Cranborne, Sir John Evans, the Earl of Verulam, and Ernest N. Wix, Esq. Committee: A. E. Gibbs, Esq., C. H. Ashdown, Esq, Dr. Wyatt Wingrave, S. Flint Clarkson, Esq, A. J. Rhodes, Esq, F. W. Kinnier Tarte, Esq., J. F. Knight, Esq., F. G. Kitton, Esq. Treasurer: H. J. Toulmin, Esq. Secretaries: Robert J. Hillier, Esq., Mrs. Maude C. Knight, E. Stanley Kent, Esq. Auditor: G. N. Marten, Esq.

The following resolution was moved by Mr. A. E. Ekins, and carried unanimously:—"To add to Rule 3—'and any Secretary of the Society, who shall have held office for five years, shall be eligible for election at an Annual General Meeting as a life member, and shall be considered to have compounded for all subsequent subscriptions to the Society.'"

Under the new Rule, Mr. Page was proposed by Mr. Toulmin as a life member, and his election was carried unanimously.

It was mentioned that Mr. Page had presented the Society with a copy of his Paper on "The St. Albans School of Mural Painting," which was accepted with thanks by the Committee.

A letter was read from the Secretary of the East Herts Society, suggesting that this Society should subscribe to certain excavations taking place in the eastern part of the county. It was decided that sufficient had been done in mentioning the subject.

A most interesting Paper, very well illustrated by lantern slides, made by the author, was read by Mr. A. Whitford Anderson, of Watford, on "Some Ornamental Carvings in Herts Churches."

The Paper was throughout most excellent, and gave many evidences of the large amount of trouble and care which had been taken by Mr. Anderson in preparing it, and it was very highly commended. After the paper, a vote of thanks was proposed by Mr. Flint Clarkson, seconded by Mr. Kitton, to Mr. Anderson for his excellent paper. and carried unanimously. After Mr. Anderson had suitably replied, votes of thanks were also accorded to Mr. Ashdown and Mr. Briggs for their management of the lantern.

FRANK BEAL.

Dec. 11th, 1903.

Meeting held in the Herts County Museum, St. Albans, on December 11th, 1903.

Present—F. Beal, Esq. in the chair; also Messrs. A. J. Nicholson, F. W. Kinnier Tarte, C. H. Ashdown, J. Blake, H. J. Worssam, A. E. Ekins, Mrs. Blake, Miss Worssam, Mrs. Henderson, and others, with the Hon. Secretaries, Messrs. E. Stanley Kent and R. J. Hillier,

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Mrs. Cox and Mr. Purchase were duly elected Members of the Society.

Mr. C. Hulton Le Maistre then read a Paper on "Parish Registers and Genealogies: How to write a Family History."

The Paper was most interesting, and was closely followed by those present. On its conclusion, a vote of thanks was accorded unanimously to Mr. Le Maistre, the same being proposed by Mr. Ekins, and seconded by Mr. Worssam.

A discussion, arising out of the recent visit to Hall Place, was postponed on account of the lateness of the hour.

A. J. Rhodes.

May 6th, 1904.

The Annual General Meeting held in the Herts County Museum, on May 6th, 1904.

Present—A. J. Rhodes, Esq., in the chair; also Messrs. W. R. L. Lowe, A. E Gibbs, J. Blake, C. H. Ashdown, F. Silvester, F. W. Kinnier Tarte, F. Boswell; Mrs. Blake, Miss Barker, Mrs. and Miss Hillier, Mrs. Ashdown, Miss Rose White, and others.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

With regard to the Committee for the ensuing year, Dr. Wyat-Wingrave, Mr. Flint Clarkson, and Mr. F. W. Kinnier Tarte being the retiring members, their places were filled by Mr. C. Johnson, Mr. A. J. Nicholson, and Mr. A. E. Ekins. Mrs. Knight having resigned her position as Secretary, Mr. Tarte was appointed Corresponding Secretary.

Mr. Flint Clarkson was appointed a Life Member.

The Balance Sheet was presented and adopted, the same being considered to be quite satisfactory.

A new representative being required on the Museum Committee, the Very Rev. the Dean of St. Albans was appointed to fill the vacancy.

On the motion of Mr. A. J. Rhodes, Mr. R. J. Hillier was unanimously elected as a Life Member of the Society under Rule 3, as amended at the last Annual Meeting.

Mr. W R L. Lowe then read a Paper, by Mr. G. Mowat, on "Early Pigeon Houses," which was illustrated by lantern slides, shown by Mr. Ashdown.

A vote of thanks was subsequently unanimously accorded to Dr. Mowat for his Paper, on the motion of Mr. Kinnier Tarte, seconded by Dr. Hillier.

Mr. H R Wilton Hall was unanimously appointed Librarian to the Society, on the proposition of Mr. Tarte, seconded by Mr. Silvester.

Walter J. Lawrance.

January 20th, 1905.

NO 1.

NO 2.

NO 3.

No. 1.—Aldenham. No. 2.—Wheathampstead. No. 3.—Westmill.

Some Ornamental Carving in Herts Churches.

BY A. WHITFORD ANDERSON, A.R.I.B.A.

No one who makes a serious study of archæology can afford to ignore the carvings of stone and wood which adorn our old churches. The type of carving is as sure a criterion of date as the moulding, and the examples I shall show you to-night were selected with a view of comparing them with carvings in other churches in different counties, and are a fair sample of the work to be found in Hertfordshire, though they must not necessarily be taken as the best types of the different periods, as in making the slides I was bound by the limits of my own collection. I shall begin with the Norman period, extending, roughly, from 1066 to 1189. In dealing with this style it is well to remember its origin. It appears to have arisen in Italy during the eleventh century, under an impulse from Byzantium, and was influenced by existing Roman remains; thence it passed through France. On reaching our shores it became blended, to a certain extent, varying in different districts with the native Anglo-Saxon and Celtic. Nearly all our Norman capitals are based on what is called the "cushion" type, which is merely a square block with the lower part rounded off to fit a circular shaft, but the ornament carved on them varies. I have examples of three types of ornament. First, the Celtic, which luxuriated in interlacing ornament and imagery; second, caps with volutes at the angles or in the centre, evidently a survival of the "caulicoli" of the old Corinthian capital; and thirdly, scolloped ornament. We do not expect to find much Celtic work so far east as Hertfordshire, and I know of only one example at Kensworth. The east cap of the south doorway is covered with an interlacing ornament on a "cushion" form. (*Fig.* 8.) The west cap has two dragons carved on it, in positions which remind one of some of the carved Norman tympana in the western counties, where two dragons stand facing each other, and both gazing up into a tree which stands between them. Single dragons are not uncommon on the capitals of Norman doorways, as at Harlington, in

Middlesex. The cap of the chancel pier at Great Munden is a primitive example of the "volute" type. It is merely an incised scroll at the angles of a cushion capital. A later example under the tower at Anstey—which I date about 1150—has a much more pronounced volute at the angle, with a curious wreath or swag of foliage between, which has the same abruptly bent leaf as I shall show you occurs on the west doorway at Hemel Hempstead, and the font at Standon, both late in style. The cushion form has been abandoned here, and the undeveloped leaf of a later period is discernable at the back. Compare this with a capital from the nave arcade at King's Walden, which is probably twenty-five years later. (*Fig.* 9.) The treatment is very similar, but the importance of the features is reversed, the leaf is made prominent, and the volute has almost disappeared. There are good examples of this form of capital at Geddington and Brigstock, in Northamptonshire, where, however, the volute is more pronounced than at King's Walden. Another cap at King's Walden (*Fig.* 10) shows a succession of volutes forming a running ornament right round the cap; in this example the cushion has given way to the bell-shaped capital of the succeeding period. A nave-cap at Sandridge (*Fig.* 11) shows very pronounced foliated volutes at the angles, the carver finding that it made a much better finish to the angles than merely rounding them off. This cap shows an example of scolloped ornament. This is a very common type of Norman capital, with the heavy square plain surface above the scollops. An ingenious, but not very successful, attempt to lighten the cap was made by a carver at King's Walden. The scolloped portion has been raised close up to the abacus, or moulding at the top of the cap, still, however, inclined at the old angle, and the embryo leaves or stalks used at Sandridge have been lengthened to support it. It is interesting, as showing a step from the cushion towards the bell form of capital. The scollop has endless variations: some are plain, some richly decorated. Redbourn nave arcade has plain examples: at Kimpton they are more elaborated. An example from the nave at King's Walden (*Fig.* 12) shows an early attempt at foliage; two parallel rows of stiff trefoil leaves running round the bell of the capital. The capitals to the nave arcades at

Kimpton afford an instructive series. They are all Transitional in character, and appear to date from 1170 or a little later. One cap on the south side (*Fig.* 13) shows two rows of leaves, an upper and a lower, as at King's Walden; but a decided advance has been made here, by relegating the lower row to the background and furnishing the upper row with proper stalks, which afford a better opportunity of heightening the cap than in the scolloped example at King's Walden. The leaves show less stiffness, and there is a manifest attempt to avoid too much repetition; they, however, still appear to be stuck on the bell of the cap, instead of supporting the moulded abacus above. An adjoining capital has the same peculiarity, though the foliage is treated more freely. A cap on the north side shows a further advance; the stalks are made greater use of, and in the lower row the leaves are made mere suggestions so as to allow the upper leaves to expand and overhang. An adjoining capital shows a pleasing variation of this, where the stalks are not placed erect, but inclined at an angle, as if the wind were passing over the foliage. My last example from Kimpton, also from the north arcade, which is later in character than that on the south, shows the border land of the Early English period. The cap is more bell-shaped; the foliage hangs over, and is losing the stuck-on appearance, and gives an appearance of support to the moulding above. All these Kimpton examples have a heavy, cramped appearance, due in great measure, to the want of height in the capital, the craftsman having not yet shaken himself free from the Norman type. Sometimes—though rarely in Hertfordshire—human faces may be found carved on capitals, as on the south doorway at Great Wymondley, the only other example I have come across being under the tower arch at Stevenage. When speaking of the capital under the tower at Anstey I drew your attention to a curious four-lobed leaf with an abruptly bent stalk. A similar leaf may be found on the caps of the late Norman west doorway at Hemel Hempstead, and it is also used in a running pattern round the font at Standon (*Fig.* 14),* and on the caps from the old church at

* Note. This ornament is common in Byzantine carvings, and is probably a survival of the Greek "palmette" ornament.

Harpenden. The Normans were also fond of carving grotesque figures as ornaments. The Late Norman font at Anstey has figures of men with dolphin's tails supporting the basin, symbolical, probably, of the waters of baptism; and on the north chancel door of the same church is a carved figure of a dolphin holding its tail in its mouth, used as a termination to the hood-moulding. The distinguishing characteristics of the Early English period, which lasted, approximately, from 1189 to 1272, are the dog-tooth ornament and the three-lobed leaf. A good plain example of the dog-tooth may be found on the remains of a recess in the chancel at Ardeley (*Fig.* 4), and there is a slightly more elaborate one in the north chancel door at Wheathampstead, which also has a beautiful Early English carved termination to the hood-mould, showing the three lobes to each leaf. Offley has some early examples of this period in the nave arcade. One cap on the north side has a rather stiff array of trefoils on stalks round it; but you will notice that it has been heightened, and a further improvement is effected by the Early English moulded abacus above, with its deep shadow. An adjoining cap (*Fig.* 5) is more graceful, with its octagonal angles accentuated by branches of foliage, and the curious single half-trefoil between each angle. In another, also on the north side, this centre leaf is omitted, and the angles only have foliage, but it is just the point where appearance of support is most required. Flamstead possesses a good series of Early English caps. One capital on the north side of the nave shows a similar arrangement to that at Offley, with the foliage at the octagonal angles, but has a complete trefoil leaf, instead of the half one in between. Another on the north side shows the characteristic swellings on the lobes of the leaves. (*Fig.* 6.) The swelling is nearly always to be found on the side lobes of the trefoil, but frequently the large central one is treated differently; here the square stalk is continued up to the end of the leaf; there is also a small bud introduced. An adjoining capital is very similar, but has a double central leaf instead of the bud; another has fruit or flowers carved in the foliage. The above are all on the north side of the nave; those on the south side are perhaps a little later in date, and are more fully developed. The west

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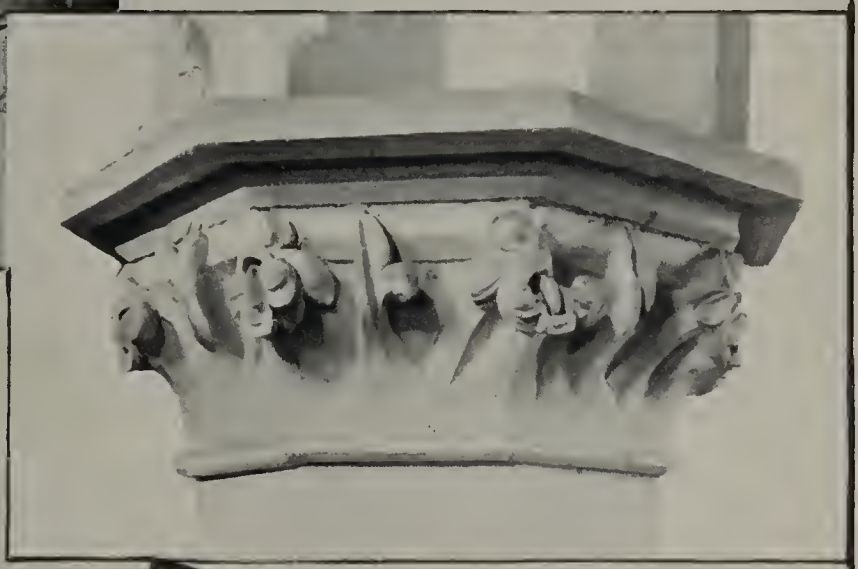

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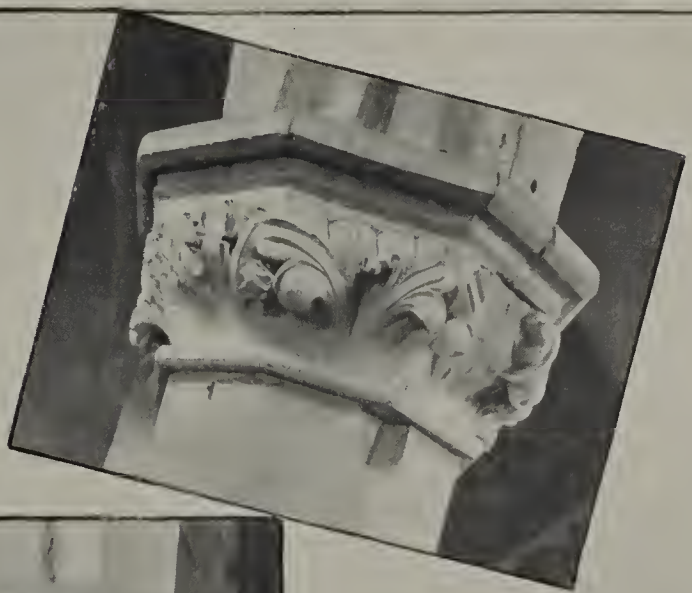

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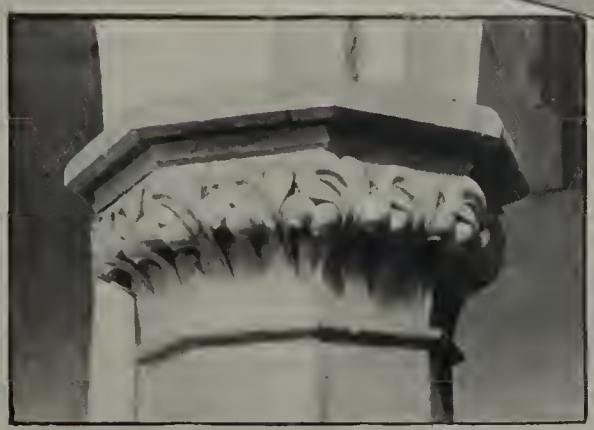
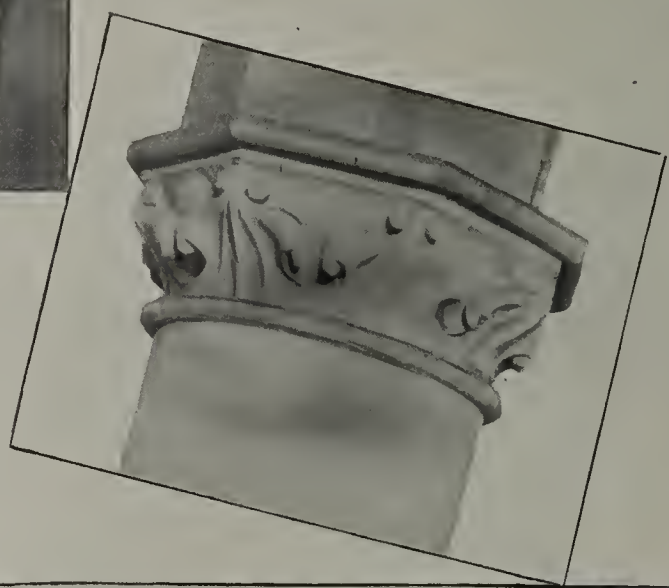


NO 7.

No. 4.—Ardeley. No. 5.—Offley. No. 6.—Flamstead. No. 7.—Flamstead.

NO 8.



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NO 10.

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No. 8.—Kenilworth. No. 9.—King's Walden. No. 10.—King's Walden. No. 11.—Sandridge

respond on the south side (*Fig.* 16) is a beautiful piece of carving, and has a double row of foliage. Another beautiful example shows the central lobe divided into two, one however, always larger than the other. (*Fig.* 7.) My last Flamstead capital is also a very good example, a different and less conventional leaf having been used. Great Gaddesden has some very graceful foliated capitals. On these, as on all English caps, the foliage stands erect on stalks, which is a characteristic of the period, the foliage in the succeeding style being usually carried horizontally round the caps without stalks. The capital to the chancel-pier in the ruined church of Ayot St. Lawrance, and which I should date about 1250, has mutilated Early English foliage. There is a small carved figure of a man in flowing garments above it, but it is doubtful if this was its original position. The Decorated style covered the period between 1272 and 1377, but we have not many examples of carving of that period in our parish churches. There are some good though dilapidated fragments at Ayot St. Lawrance, but they are almost entirely concealed with ivy. Probably our best example is the west doorway at North Mymms (*Fig.* 15); the foliage of vine-leaves twines horizontally round the cap, which is, as I before remarked, one of the characteristics of the style. The foliage is more directly copied from nature than in the preceding style, the vine, the oak, and the ivy being the favourite leaves. The ball-flower and the four-leaved flower, with its varieties, some of which may be seen at North Mymms, were placed at intervals along the hollow mouldings. The reredos in the north transept at Wheathampstead (*Fig.* 2) is a rich example of the same type of foliage, but belongs to the close of the period. The west doorway of Ayot St. Lawrance has a flowing ornament of early fourteenth century work, which bears a close resemblance to the carved ornament of Abbot Hugh de Eversdon in the Lady Chapel at St. Albans, though in our example the ball-flowers have all but disappeared. Carved heads, animals, birds, etc., are very common in Decorated work. There are some examples on the arches of the nave arcade at North Mymms, used as hood-moulding terminations. Carved crockets, which originated in the thirteenth century, became now a feature, and as

the style advanced crockets became indispensable; and, though they were often overdone, particularly in later times, they always served to impart the appearance of solidity to what would otherwise have looked but a thin and meagre moulding. The remains of a tomb in the south transept at Anstey has some good crocket work. Some of our best Decorated carved work is of wood, as in the angel cornice of the well-known screen at Hitchin, or in the later angels with outstretched wings in the nave roof at Ardeley. During the Perpendicular period of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, carving in Hertfordshire, as elsewhere, gradually deteriorated. It was used lavishly—often too lavishly — the builder forgetting the sound dictum of the earlier styles that all carving should be subordinate to the building, and should accentuate, not disguise, the structural lines. A capital at Aldenham shows the late type of ornament—a few detached leaves at intervals round the cap, a mode of decoration far removed from some of the earlier foliage. Much of the carved work of this period is in itself very beautiful, especially work in the spandrils of arches and surface ornament, crockets, etc. Of crockets, I might instance the fine stoup in the south porch at Caldecot (*Fig.* 17), which is over nine feet high. The piscina in the chancel at Albury also shows some excellent crocket work. There is some delicately carved work in the spandrils of the Crowmer monument at Aldenham (*Fig.* 1), which dates from about 1400; but you will notice in the cresting at the top a sample of the geometrical tracery that was developed into such an important surface ornament during the Perpendicular period. The font at Offley is a good sample of this means of decoration. The effect is rich, but not restful. There is some late canopy work in the west doorway at Westmill (*Fig.* 3), but the figures of the angels holding torches in the arch spandrils lack life and vigour, and the west doorway at Thorley shows a lower type of carving still. Some good work may be found among the fonts of Hertfordshire, notably at Ware and Hitchin, the latter having figures of the Twelve Apostles round it, each under a carved and crocketed canopy. The font in St. Stephen's Church, St. Albans, has figures of angels with outstretched wings supporting the basin, and figures of various saints in niches on the

No. 12.—King's Walden. No. 13.—Kimpton. No. 14.—Standon.

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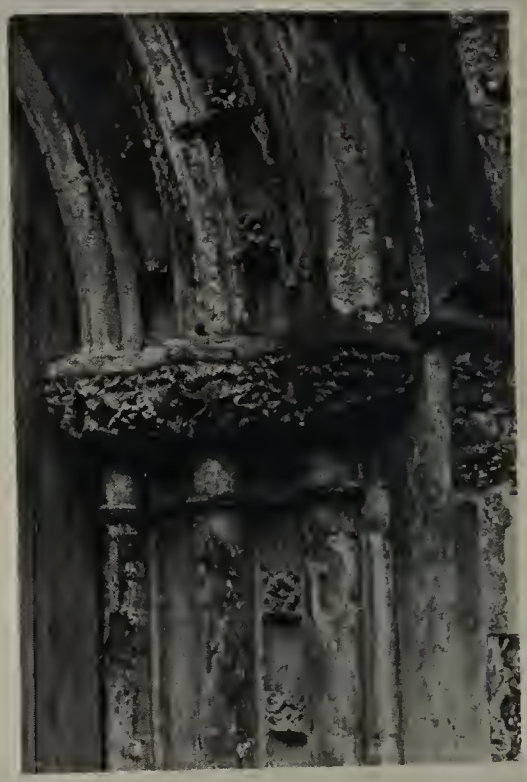

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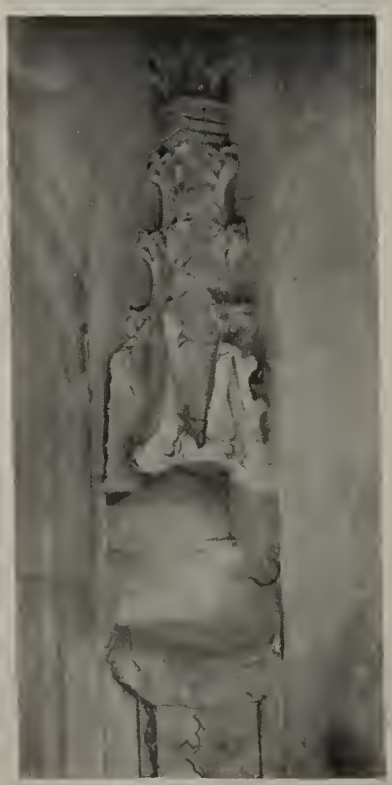

NO. 17.

No. 15.—North Mimms. No. 16.—Flamstead. No. 17.—Caldecot.

shaft beneath. The examples we have in Hertfordshire do not show the various styles at their best; indeed, the county is not rich in carvings of the later periods, but, as you will have seen from the examples I have put before you to-night, we possess a very good series of late Norman and Early English work, of which any county might be proud.

St. Wulfstan and his Connection with St. Alban's Abbey.

BY MRS. F. B. HENDERSON.

To the making of the English race no single century contributed so much as the eleventh. It opened with the Saxons in possession of the land; it witnessed the overthrow of their power and that of the Danes established; it closed with the triumph of the Normans. It saw the introduction of two new elements; it saw each in turn strive for the mastery with its predecessor; it saw old and new on the way to settling down together, in process of time to form our English race.

St. Wulfstan's long life of nearly ninety years (1008-1095) is virtually one with the course of the century. Born under a Saxon king, he passed through the Danish interlude, and lived to serve William the Conqueror, to take part in the coronation of William Rufus, to see the permanent triumph of the Normans. Of all the men who played great parts during the century of whom record has come down to us, Wulfstan alone touched the national life in its three phases—Saxon, Danish, and Norman.

As a Churchman, he was the link between the Early English and the Norman Church. He was the last Anglo-Saxon bishop, and the last saint of the Anglo-Saxon Church.

Merely to have lived through so long and so varied a period, merely to have seen changes so momentous, would confer no mean distinction, and should more than suffice to merit and engage our interest. But so to have lived through such times, so to have borne himself through such changes, as to retain the love of his Saxon fellow-countrymen, to gain the respect and admiration of the conquering Normans, and, finally, with the

applauding assent of all, to be awarded a place among the saints of their common Church, is to achieve a distinction so far beyond the opportunity and beyond the reach of ordinary men as at once to arrest our attention and compel our interest.

That this distinction was Wulfstan's, I am fully persuaded; and I have ventured to write this paper, not in the expectation of presenting what should pretend to be an adequate portrayal of such a character and career (for at this distance of time, and with the merely fragmentary records that have come to us that would be vain) but in the humbler hope of winning, in some degree, your appreciation of the greatness of his life and work, and your love for the man himself.

The story of his life may be taken as falling, fairly naturally, into two parts: before, and after, 1062, the date of his appointment to the see of Worcester—not that the mere becoming a Bishop made any difference to the man, but that the position naturally widened the sphere of his work and influence. Before that year he was leading the restricted life of a monk, the helper of his brethren in spiritual things, the friend and consoler of the poor in their daily struggle. After it, he was the trusted friend and adviser of princes and prelates, and through his influence with them a powerful factor in determining the issues of the national life. In the later period the benignant light of his gracious character shone no less brightly or steadily than in the earlier, but it carried further.

It is impossible, in making such a division in the story of a man's life, to avoid altogether a certain arbitrariness. Wulfstan's influential friendships did not, of course, spring up in a day on his becoming a bishop. But, this understood, the arrangement is in the main as true as it certainly is convenient, and I shall therefore follow it, adding, at the close, a few notes on his relations with St. Albans.

In 991, Oswald, Bishop of Worcester, granted a manse and some property at Long Itchington in Warwickshire, belonging to the see, to his man Elstan. Elstan's wife was Wulfgeva, and in 1008 she bore him a son, whose name, Wulfstan, was a combination of theirs.

He was educated at Evesham, and, later, at Peterborough, the monastery of which had at the time the most famous School in England. Here he received all that an Anglo-Saxon School could give. He was inured to hardness and self-control, taught to rise early and to bind and illuminate books. Latin he may have learnt through conning the pages of the Psalters which were produced in the Abbey scriptorium.

Aelfric, seventh Abbot of St. Alban's Monastery and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, who died in 1023, has left behind him a Latin and Saxon Dialogue. This was probably written for Peterborough School, so that from it, too, Wulfstan may have gained some knowledge of Latin. It gives us some curious glimpses of the life in the Monastery Schools. The following extract from it is taken from Thorpe's Analecta:—"The master asks, 'Hast thou been flogged to-day?' 'No,' replies the boy, 'for I have behaved myself warily.' But he will not answer for his companions. 'Why do you ask me? I must not tell our secrets. Each one knows whether he was whipt or not.' (Evidently the schoolboy code of honour is of old standing!) 'Who wakens you to night-song?' asks the master. 'Sometimes I hear the knell and rise; sometimes the master wakes me roughly with his rod.'"

By mutual consent Wulfstan's parents, in their old age, took monastic vows. After the father's death, the boy was persuaded by his mother to leave the world, and in the monastery at Worcester, where his father had served God, Wulfstan received the habit and order of a monk. He entered the service of Brihtege, Bishop of Worcester, by whom in 1033 he was ordained priest. His biographer, William of Malmesbury, speaks of him as rising through the various offices—master of the novices, precentor and treasurer of the Church, and finally, in 1038, prior. It will be remembered that in a Cathedral Monastery like that of Worcester the Bishop was Abbot, and that the Prior therefore was the immediate head of the Society.

When entrusted with the custody of the Church, he was constantly there, spending days and nights before the altar. Every day he visited the eighteen altars in the old church, bowing seven times before each.

Dr. Thomas, in his "Survey of Worcester Cathedral," written in 1736, says: "In these exercises he continued a whole day and night together; once, it is said, for four days and nights together, whereby he incurred such danger that had he not hastened, by sleep, to refresh nature, he would have died; and, when nature enforced him to take some repose, he laid not himself down on a couch or soft bed, but on some bench or form in the church, and made the book he read the pillow on which to lay his head."

One striking practice of his shows that even in his discipline of others he was unsparing of himself. If one of the brothers was absent from the midnight service, Wulfstan would take no notice of it at the time; but when the others had left the church and returned to their beds, he would quietly go and wake the absentee, return with him to the church, and make him go through the appointed office, himself staying with him and making the responses.

But this constant service of God in His temple by no means precluded him from serving his fellow-men. We read of him sitting for hours at the church-door, hearing and settling disputes, and helping those who were in need. He also travelled much about the country—careful, in each village he came to, first to "salute the Church"—baptizing the children of the poor, who at that time were often refused free baptism by the secular clergy.

When Prior, too, he preached to the people—a much-neglected work in that age. Wulfstan's view of his duty in the matter is shown in his reply to a monk who protested that it was the office of a *Bishop* to preach and that of a *monk* to keep silence: "My brother, the word of God is not bound."

From the character of the man, and bearing in mind that he thought that the English people were, in the incursions of the Danes, being punished by God for their sins, we can well believe that the description William of Malmesbury gives of his preaching is no more than true. "His words," he tells us, "his words, as he uttered them to the people from on high in his pulpit, seemed to be the voice of thunder issuing from the shrine of a prophet or evangelist; they lightened like

bolts upon the wicked: they fell like showers upon the elect."

One delightful story I must not omit. The incident probably occurred during this part of his life, and may therefore best be told here. One day, it is said, as he was celebrating mass at the altar, the savoury odour of roast goose so interfered with his devotions that he, "not being able to conquer it, by reason he was hungry," and being filled with shame in consequence, vowed never again to eat that particular meat! This, doubtless, is the foundation of the tradition that he was a vegetarian.

Thus from story and tradition we are able to form a picture of the man as he was in his daily life during these quiet, somewhat uneventful years—little known probably beyond Worcester and its neighbourhood, a man plain and homely, earnest in devotion, his life lying not so much in the silent cloister as in the market place and village, among the poor and the despised. He had learned the secret which the church at large took so long to learn, that (as an American writer puts it) "God is not more easily found in solitude than in the stress of daily life; that the soul makes her own peace quite as often in the strife of cities as in the loneliness of woods; that in loving, and doing, and suffering it is possible to be closer to the Divinity than in simple meditation."

St. Gregory said of St. Benedict that he was "learnedly ignorant and wisely unlettered," and I do not think we could get a better description of St. Wulfstan. You will, I am sure, feel the full force of the truth of its application to him when we come later to a dramatic episode, the most dramatic, indeed, in his career, in the course of his relations with the Normans.

We cannot wonder that his sincere, simple goodness, joined to his great tact in dealing with men, gradually won for Wulfstan the friendship of nearly all the leading men of his time. His position, later, as Bishop, naturally gave greater opportunity for such friendships, but one of the closest and most notable of them all, that with Harold, Earl Godwin's son, the ill-fated King Harold of the battle of Hastings, belongs to this earlier period. With this man, eloquent in speech, wise in

council, having a perfect knowledge of the laws of the land, a fitting leader for the English people, devoted heart and soul to the service of his country and loyal to her wayward and half foreign King, Edward the Confessor, Wulfstan seems to have been in perfect sympathy. As for Harold, he would at any time travel thirty miles out of his way that he might receive the benefit of the saint's exhortations and prayers, and Wulfstan repaid his devotion by loyal and vigorous service in the day of need.

After Harold's accession, in 1066, when he had difficult and delicate work to perform in settling the northern earldoms, Wulfstan accompanied him, and William of Malmesbury attributes the credit of the expedition to the saintliness of the Bishop. On this journey, as on all, we can picture him, with his book open on the pommel of his saddle, chanting with his monks, as they travelled slowly north, the psalms, the litanies and the office for the dead. Often, we learn, he would say over and over to himself the verses of which he was specially fond—"prayer verses" he called them—and we feel instinctively that Dr. Thomas's description of him must be true:—"Standing, lying down, or sitting, always in his mouth a psalm, and always in his heart his Saviour." On this note, and none could be more fitting, I close this brief record of the earlier part of his life.

In order to understand fully the unique position in the national life that Wulfstan held from this point onward, we must try to trace from its beginning the Norman influence in ecclesiastical affairs. Of this influence the true starting-point is the accession of Edward the Confessor, in 1043. It was not, it is true, till 1066 that the military triumph determined which race should rule England, but the struggle for supremacy between the English and the Normans—between the foreigner and the native—had really been going on all these twenty-three years.

Edward the Confessor, son of Ethelred the Unready and Emma of Normandy, had spent most of his life in his mother's country, and, though England might be the land of his duty, Normandy held his affections.

Further, his natural inclination was for a monastery rather than for a throne, and the real man comes out in his devotion to religious exercises, his gifts to monasteries, and the founding of his great Abbey at Westminster. Almost from the first he exercised the right of investing Bishops-elect with ring and staff, the sign of their office, and the ecclesiastical appointments of his reign are very significant. Although these were made in full Witan, showing that the people had at least the right of saying "Yea" or "Nay," we constantly hear of the King "giving" a bishopric. He succeeded in filling the sees of Canterbury, London, and Dorchester with French prelates. Of these the most notable was Robert of Jumièges, Bishop of London, who had unbounded influence with the King, and was the chief fomenter of strife between him and his native subjects. He was, too, the first man of utterly alien speech to be appointed to an English bishopric. Later, as Archbishop of Canterbury, he was the first to receive his consecration from Rome, and with him began the practice of refusing consecration to bishops appointed by the King and Witan. "By this time" (1051), says Freeman, "a man might go from the Straits of Dover to the Humber, over Kentish, East Saxon, and Danish ground, without once in the course of his journey going out of the spiritual jurisdiction of the Norman."

For another set of ecclesiastical appointments which are of interest to us in this study, we must turn from Edward the Confessor to the other great figure on the stage of history at the time—Harold, son of Earl Godwin, and, as we have seen, friend of Wulfstan. *His* policy was to try to counteract the threatening Norman influence by bringing about the connection of England with the Germans—Teutonic races nearest to us in blood and speech. To this end he did his utmost to secure the appointment of Lothingarian bishops. (Lothingaria, roughly, embraced all the lower Netherlands.) Coming from the borderland between France and Germany, these bishops were thus men to whom French and German were equally familiar. It is easy to understand that, when the King would not accept the appointment of an Englishman, there was always at least a chance that he would compromise, by

accepting the nomination of a Lothingarian; and these men, as a rule, resisted the Norman influence. In view of the esteem, and even reverence, in which later, in the day of their triumph, Wulfstan was held by the Normans, it is essential to note that in this policy he was with his friend Harold, and, therefore, against them.

When Aldred became Archbishop of York in 1060, he had the greatest difficulty in receiving consecration at the hands of Pope Nicholas, on the ground, probably, of his holding several bishoprics at once. Tostig, Harold's brother, seems, however to have brought influence to bear upon the Pope, either by persuasion or by threats, and at last Aldred was invested with the pallium, but only on condition of his resigning his beloved see of Worcester. Then it was that in 1062 two papal legates came to England to see, among other things, that this part of the contract was carried out. Aldred received them, conducted them on their journey through a great part of England, and at last quartered them at Worcester under the care of Wulfstan. Here they were to remain during Lent, waiting for the Easter sitting of the Gemot at Winchester, when the King and his Witan were to decide on all matters that had brought them to England. Wulfstan showed his guests every hospitality, but he himself spent the time in the most rigid observances of the Church. Three times a week he tasted nothing night or day, and never broke silence. On Sundays he added to his simple fare some fish and wine, in reverence for the festival.

The legates seem to have been so struck by the virtues of the holy Wulfstan, as shown in these austerities towards himself and by his devotion to his fellow-men, that they warmly supported his appointment to the see of Worcester, when Aldred hesitated between him and the Abbot of Evesham. Both Archbishops Stigand and Aldred, as well as his personal friend Harold, spoke in Wulfstan's favour, and the wish of the Witan was unanimous. The only difficulty lay in his unwillingness to take upon himself responsibilities so great. Messengers were sent at full speed to Worcester to bring the Prior to the assembly. He obeyed, but eloquently pleaded his unfitness for the vacant office. When every

other influence had failed, he seems to have been persuaded by a hermit, who had been cut off from the outside world for forty years. This hermit, to quote Dr. Thomas, "sharply reprehended Wulfstan for his obstinacy, and assured him that in so doing he much offended God. Upon this he yielded, not without great grief of heart." He was consecrated Bishop of Worcester on September 8th, 1062, by Aldred, and received the ring and pastoral staff from King Edward the Confessor.

A note seems necessary here as to the peculiar position of Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury. He had received the pallium from an irregularly appointed pope who had possession of the papal throne only for one year. It was but natural, therefore, that the prelates acknowledged by him should be looked askance at by later ecclesiastics at Rome. Freeman suggests that Wulfstan seems to have been impressed by the importance of papal recognition and therefore would not accept consecration from the hands of Stigand. But may it not be that Wulfstan preferred to take the charge from Aldred because he was the retiring Bishop of Worcester, and was, moreover, the man who had made him Prior? This seems not only a simpler explanation, but one more in line with the general Church policy of Harold and Wulfstan, and certainly much more in keeping with the character of the saint, especially in view of his extreme reluctance to accept the bishopric at all.

When "he put on the bishop, he put not off the monk," but continued to practise towards himself the same severity as when he was Prior. Every day he sang the late high mass, which was usually taken by priests a week at a time, as the celebrant had to remain fasting till a late hour.

As Bishop, too, he continued wearing his famous coat of lambskin, allowed to the Benedictines in winter, which made him the laughing-stock of the Norman prelates. The following story I do not like, but as it probably exemplifies the simple pleasantry of the age, and also shows that the good Bishop could unbend, I tell it. When taken to task by Geoffrey of Coutances for wearing this coat, and told that, at any rate, he might

choose the skin of some better animal, such as a fox, a cat, or a beaver, he replied that foxskin might be all very well for crafty men of the world, but as for him he would keep to his common sheepskins. "Believe me," he said, "I have often heard of 'Agnus Dei,' but never of 'Cattus Dei.'"

One of his first undertakings as Bishop was to build Worcester Cathedral. In some degree he was compelled to this by the condition of the old church, but it was doubtless also in part a characteristically tactful concession to Norman feeling, for at this time vast abbeys and cathedrals were beginning to be erected all over England by the Norman prelates. Practically the only part of the Cathedral as built by St. Wulfstan that now remains is the apsidal crypt. It ranks as the second oldest in England, that of Winchester being older. The crypt at Worcester is, however, unique in the number of small pillars employed to support the vaulted roof. Together with the semicircular arches, these slender shafts give an appearance of lightness that one does not look for in Norman architecture.

He was a great church-builder, as we should expect from his practical nature and his intense desire that the poor should be reached and have the Gospel preached to them. But though necessity and policy had combined to force his hand in the case of Worcester, it is easy to understand his having little sympathy with the building of cathedrals in itself. When the Cathedral of Worcester was finished, and the old church and monastery buildings were being demolished to make room for more splendid edifices, Wulfstan stood one day and looked at the roofless church and the walls that were being torn down, and his eyes filled with tears. "Why should you weep?" said a monk standing by. "You should rather laugh, to see the meanness of the first house swept away to make room for a glorious second one." "No," said Wulfstan, "I see nothing to rejoice over in the demolition of the work of our saints. True, they knew not how to rear a stately building; but under a mean roof they offered the adorable sacrifice to God with great devotion, and set saintly examples to their flock; and we—we collect and carve the stones of the material

temple, and neglect the edification of that which is spiritual, the souls of men."

When Aldred was appointed Archbishop of York, he had persuaded Edward the Confessor into letting Worcester become part of the see of York, so as to deprive it of twelve manors belonging to it. On Aldred's death in 1070, Wulfstan, at a great council of prelates held at Winchester, demanded restitution of these. Made as if the Saxons and not the Normans still ruled the land, and as if he feared not a whit for his own position (though just before several Ango-Saxon clergy had been deposed), the demand was a bold one, and shows, perhaps, more than any other single action of his, the "straightforward unconscious simplicity" of the man. Freeman says: "While others saw the purpose of the King, and trembled lest the stroke should fall upon them, the holy Bishop of Worcester arose and demanded this restitution. The answer of William and the Legates was very discreet—they had not heard both sides. They had heard the claim of Worcester, they had not heard the defence of York. The church of York was dumb, having no shepherd to speak for her. When the Northern bishopric should again be full, both sides should be heard, and the case decided."

In 1072, when Thomas of Bayeux had been appointed Archbishop of York, Wulfstan had to face a more formidable council and plead his cause again. Here I cannot do better than quote William of Malmesbury. (It should be understood that Wulfstan and his monks were waiting outside the great Council Chamber.) "Here the holy simplicity of the blessed Wulfstan and his ever-courageous trust in God is worthy to be praised. 'Believe me,' said he, 'we have not yet sung "horam sextam," let us sing it'; they answering that first they ought to consult and dispatch the business they were about, that there would be time enough for them to chant hereafter, that if the King and his nobles should hear they would laugh them to scorn. 'Believe me,' says he, 'first let us serve God, and after let us wage the controversy of men.' The hour being chanted, without any tergiversation or pretending to more than naked truth, he immediately went towards the Council

Hall." This being constant, in season and out of season, brought its due reward, for the pretences of the Northern bishops were shown to be groundless, the dispute was settled in favour of the claims of Wulfstan, and the twelve manors were restored to Worcester.

Later, Lanfranc tried to get Wulfstan deposed, on the ground of incapacity and ignorance, and Wulfstan had again to appear before the Council. In his book "The Church of our Fathers," Dr. Rock thus describes the scene:—"There stood the grave, long-bearded Saxon Bishop, arraigned for ignorance before the Norman king and his smooth-shaven Norman prelates. Wulfstan, the representative of the people, Lanfranc of the nobles. Wulfstan Bishop of the Conquered and Lanfranc of the Conquerors.

"When the poor Saxons had come to him at Worcester, and had complained that these Normans trampled down their corn and robbed them of their cattle, and ground them down with taxes—'They are God's scourge, these Normans, punishing us for our sins, my children,' Wulfstan had said. And now he was to be deprived of his office that a Norman might occupy it and shepherd with his crook the Saxon bondsmen.

"The Council decided, in accordance with the royal pleasure, that Wulfstan was too ignorant to deserve to retain his see, and that he must resign his pastoral staff. Upon this the old man rose, and, holding the crosier firmly in his hand, said—'Of a truth, my Lord Archbishop, of a truth, I know that I am not worthy of this dignity, nor sufficient for its duties. I knew it when the clergy elected, when the prelates compelled, when my master King Edward summoned me to the office. You now require from me the pastoral staff which you did not deliver, and take from me the office which you did not confer; and I, who am not ignorant of my own insufficiency, obeying the decree of this holy synod, resign them, not to you, but to him by whose authority I received them.' So saying, he advanced to the tomb of King Edward, and addressed himself to the dead:—'Master,' said he, 'thou knowest how unwillingly I took upon myself this office, forced to it by thee! . . . . Behold, a new king, a new law, a new primate! They decree new rights, and promulgate new statutes.

Thee they accuse of error in having so commanded, me of presumption in having obeyed. Then, indeed, thou wast liable to error, being mortal; but now, being with God, thou canst not err. Not, therefore, to these who require what they did not give, and who as men may deceive and be deceived, but to thee who hast given, and who art beyond the reach of error or ignorance, I render up my staff.' With these words, he raised his hand a little and drove the crosier into the stone which covered the sacred body. 'Take this, my master,' he said, 'and deliver it to whom thou wilt,' and, descending from the altar, he laid aside his pontifical dress, and took his seat, a simple monk among the monks . . . . But the staff, to the wonder of all, remained fast imbedded in the stone. They tried to draw it out, but it was immovable. The news was carried to where the synod was sitting, and Lanfranc first sent Gundulf, Bishop of Rochester (to whom the see of Worcester was promised) to bring the staff, but he was unable to withdraw it. Then Lanfranc and the King came, and when the former, after prayer, failed to remove the staff, he burst into tears, and, embracing Wulfstan, acknowledged the mistake they had made, saying, 'We have erred, we have erred, my brother, in our judgment of thee; and God has raised up His Spirit in His king, to show to all how acceptable thy simplicity is to God . . . . Go, therefore, my brother, go to thy master —yea, to ours, for we believe that that holy hand which has refused the crosier to us, will freely resign it to thee.' Then the holy bishop tried with a gentle effort to draw out the staff; it yielded to his hand, and came forth as if it had been planted in soft clay."

It is interesting to note, in passing, this variant of the common idea of the possession of power to withdraw a sword from stone being proof of rightful ownership. You will remember we are told in "Malory" how Sir Ector and Sir Kay were unable to withdraw the sword, which yielded at once to Arthur; and, later, how Sir Galahad withdrew the jewelled sword from the block of red marble which floated on the river, when Sir Launcelot, Sir Gawaine, and Sir Percivale had tried and failed.

But to return. This account of how the deposition of Wulfstan was prevented, and of the reconciliation

between him and Lanfranc, was written first by Aildred, Abbot of Rievaux, who died within a century after the Conquest, and, later, by Roger of Wendover and Matthew Paris. This reconciliation was the beginning of another of those marked friendships of the saint; for Lanfranc, the polished courtier and gifted scholar, the man, as Freeman says, "whose crosier had completed what the sword had begun," whose insight was deeper, and whose task far heavier, henceforth loved and valued the assistance of the homely Saxon Bishop. And from this point onwards, as we should naturally expect, Wulfstan's influence at Court steadily increased.

Among the stray fragments of those days, there has come down to us the copy of a religious bond entered into between Wulfstan and his monks and the monks of six other monasteries. It throws an interesting light on the relationships between English and Norman Churchmen just at this time. What follows is taken, much abridged, from Freeman:—

"Of the seven abbots named, two are foreigners, and the others all kept their abbeys for life. They bind themselves to be obedient to God, Saint Mary, and Saint Benedict, and to their own Bishop, and to be loyal to their world-lord, King William, and Matilda the Lady. Among themselves, the seven monasteries are to be as one, their inmates to have one heart and one soul. They promise to be true to Wulfstan 'for God and for the world,' and they make promises of mutual intercession and various acts of charity to the poor, such as washing and feeding one hundred poor men, and providing shoes for them—acts we shall find St. Wulfstan performing very shortly before his death."

The whole document breathes that spirit of simple piety, of earnest love towards God and man, which pervades so many of the ancient records of the native English Church. Of the practical results of this bond we have, I believe, a unique example in St. Wulfstan's Hospital (now called "the Commanderie") at Worcester. It seems to have been founded by Wulfstan in 1085, about ten years after the signing of the bond. Its object was to supply to the stranger and wayfarer who came to the city after the closing of the gates such shelter and hospitality as he might need, and attached

to it were a master, two chaplains, and five poor brethren, who were put under the rule of St. Augustine. Ecclesiastical as well as charitable in character, it provided food for the soul as well as for the body. Unfortunately no part of this interesting building as it now exists dates from before Henry VII.'s time.

Of Wulfstan's influence with the Norman King we could not have a better example than the way in which Lanfranc used him to bring about the suppression of the Slave Trade at Bristol which, in spite of repeated legislation of Ethelred and Cnut, was still carried on, chiefly with Ireland. The trade was profitable for dealers and King William's revenues, but Lanfranc and Wulfstan determined to oppose it. The King's avarice yielded to their arguments, and one of the few genuine pieces of legislation of William's reign strictly forbids the wicked traffic. But the evil was too deeply rooted for the King's power; and the Saint of Worcester went among the traders, often staying two or three months at a time, and every Sunday preaching to them in English. He completely won the love and reverence of these wild people, and the trade, at any rate for a season, was abolished. So far, indeed, did their new-born zeal carry them that William of Malmesbury relates how one stiff-necked sinner escaped from the city only with the loss of his eyes.

More than once we find Wulfstan heading soldiers to keep the peace of the country, an occupation which seems strangely out of keeping with the plain old Saxon monk. The most notable instance was during the revolt of the Lords of Hereford and Norfolk in 1074, when Wulfstan's followers, under Urse, the rapacious Sheriff of Worcester, prevented the Earl of Hereford from crossing the Severn, and eventually took him prisoner.

One other small record is of interest, as showing the influence of Wulfstan with William the Conqueror. A village was actually presented to him by the King for the use of the monks of Worcester, on condition that they should pray for the health of his soul and the health of all those who had assisted him in getting possession of this Kingdom.

Wulfstan outlived William and Lanfranc. He assisted at the coronation of William Rufus, and was

one of the consecrators of St. Anselm. But he was getting an old man, and during Lent in 1095 he seems to have had a presentiment that it was the last time he would keep the sacred season. "The plough has come at last to my furrow," he said on hearing of the death of a sister, and he at once began preparing for his own departure. He sent to all his bailiffs that against Maundy Thursday they should send him, out of every village, cloaks for one man, shoes for ten, and food for 100. When the day came, with his own hands he ministered to the crowds of people gathered. Twice the Bishop's hall was filled and the old man continued his lowly task of washing the feet of the poor, though begged by his attendants to desist. By the time a third company filled the hall the supply of food was exhausted, and the monks asked, "Why wash them? there is no more food," to which Wulfstan made answer, "What boots it, let God's commands be done, His bounty will not be wanting." And while he yet laboured, messengers arrived with fresh supplies of food and clothes and shoes.

At Easter, Wulfstan gave orders for a great banquet to be prepared, as he would dine with many "good men." This ambiguous phrase was misunderstood by the monks, and great was their disappointment when, instead of the gay company they had expected, the hall was filled by the poor and the friendless.

Some months later, Wulfstan sent for his great friend Robert, Bishop of Hereford, confessed to him, and received the discipline from him. He lingered till January of the following year, and on the 19th at midnight he died. As, near the end, his monks stood round his couch weeping, he spoke to them for the last time in words which breathe the warmest trust, "Cease your groans, wipe up your tears, for I shall not lose my life, but change it. Nor shall I ever be wanting to you, but as I shall be nearer to God when this earthly tabernacle is dissolved, so shall I be more ready to help you. Upon my entreaty, prosperity shall come unto you; me defending you, adversity shall depart from you." It is said that on the night of his death he appeared to Robert, Bishop of Hereford, and announced his departure, bidding his friend come and bury him, when

at the same time Robert would receive from one of the monks a present, which should prove to him the reality of the vision. Robert obeyed the vision, and when his sad mission was completed and he was mounting to ride away, the Prior of Worcester, on bended knee, begged his acceptance of the lambskin coat which Wulfstan had worn on his long journeys.

I have purposely not related any of the many miracles said to have been performed by St. Wulfstan; but the remark made in the account of him in the "Oxford Lives of the Saints" exactly expresses my feeling about them—that so he had lived and so he had died that men found it not hard to believe any of the stories of miraculous help and healing that gathered round his name.

As I bring this account of St. Wulfstan's life to a close, Keble's words haunt me as a perfect description of this simple servant of God:—

> "There are, in this loud, stunning tide
> Of human care and crime,
> With whom the melodies abide
> Of the everlasting chime,
> Who carry music in their heart,
> Through dusky lane and wrangling mart,
> Plying their daily task with busier feet
> Because their secret souls a holy strain repeat."

It only remains now to speak of the ways in which St. Wulfstan was connected with the Abbey here. Though slight, they are very interesting. When William the Conqueror had fought and won the battle of Hastings, he thought it advisable not to proceed to London until he received the submission of the neighbouring counties. He crossed the Thames, and came as far north as Berkhamstead, where Aldred, Archbishop of York, Edgar Atheling, Walter, Bishop of Hereford, and Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester, swore fealty to him. The gathering is thus described in "Speed's History of Great Britain" (his authority is John Stow):—"William, intended for London, being on his way, found the passage stopped up with a multitude of great trees, which, by the policy of Frederic, Abbot of St. Albans, to secure his monastery from destruction by the Normans, were so cut down. Whereat the Duke, both wond'ring and fretting, sent for the Abbot, under his

assurance of safe return, and demanded cause why the woods were so cut. Frederic answered very stoutly, "I have done the duty both of my birth and profession, and if others of my rank had performed the like, as they well might and ought, it had not been in thy power to have pierced the land thus far." William was anxious to get his coronation accomplished, and Lanfranc urged him to compromise with this stormy abbot. Wulfstan also brought his influence to bear, and upon the relics of St. Alban William swore to keep the ancient laws of the realm.

As far as I know, that is the only connection of the Saint with St. Albans during his lifetime. In 1217, Sylvester, Bishop of Worcester, invited William of Trumpington, Abbot of St. Albans, to be present at the translation of the bones of St. Wulfstan into a new and costly shrine. Dr. Thomas relates that Bishop Sylvester, "with his own hand, sawed in two some of the bones of the Saint, and divided them in several places, in which, it seems, he gloried, but he died the next month, which some say was a judgment upon him." And Matthew Paris, speaking of William of Trumpington, says, "It must be said in praise of this abbot that he acquired for us one of the ribs of St. Wulfstan, which he afterwards enclosed in goldsmith's work." On the whole, the inference is, I think, that the relic was bought, and not, as is sometimes said, stolen. William of Trumpington raised an altar to St. Wulfstan in the Saints' Chapel in the most southerly arch at the east end. Matthew Paris also records that the old tomb of St. Alban was discovered in 1257 between the altars of St. Oswyn and St. Wulfstan. And Mr. Page states as probable that the two remaining figures on the shrine as it exists to-day, apart from those of St. Alban and King Offa, are St. Oswyn and St. Wulfstan. The latter is on the north side of the shrine, and it is of interest to note that the figure is bearded, which of course was correct for an Anglo-Saxon Bishop.

One other figure of St. Wulfstan exists. It is on the slab of King John's tomb in Worcester Cathedral, for John fulfilled Merlin's prophecy that "he should be placed between the saints," by decreeing that the figures of St. Oswald and St. Wulfstan should be carved on his

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tomb, one on each side of his head. But though the slab of the tomb is nearly a century earlier than the present shrine of St. Alban, St. Wulfstan is depicted as clean shaven, and, as far as one can make out from an old engraving, in the dress of a Norman prelate. There is now no tomb of St. Wulfstan in Worcester Cathedral.

On the beautiful High Altar screen in the Abbey, as restored by Lord Aldenham, is a small figure of St. Wulfstan. He wears his short lamb-skin coat, bears in one hand a crosier, in the other a church of Saxon architecture. It is an apt presentment, and surely among that glorious company, chosen as they are to represent "the Passion of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ and the testimony to the faith in that Passion, given in the lives and deeds of men," none has more worthily won his place than Wulfstan, last Bishop and last Saint of our Early English Church.

Early Pigeon-Houses (Columbaria).

BY GEORGE MOWAT, M.D.

Although the subject of early Dovecotes or Pigeon-houses does not appear to have engaged the attention of the members of this Society, yet it is one possessing attractions not only for the antiquary and architect, but for the lover of the picturesque also. Such buildings are to be found in many districts throughout the country, but chiefly near Manor houses, Rectorys, Farm houses, Religious houses, and occasionally in Church towers. In Hertfordshire the best examples are in the eastern and north-eastern portions of the county.

Mr. Fowler's map of the monastic buildings at St. Albans marks the site of the Columbarium, in the garden of the present Deanery; but, no trace of it is now visible. In the Chronicles of the Abbots of the Monastery it is stated that during the abbacy of John Moote (1396-1401) "a new Pigeon-house was built, the pigeons being divided among the brethren" (GESTA III. 444). The general plan is much the same in every instance, and consists of a massive detached building with walls often three or more feet in thickness when

the nesting-holes are in the wall-substance, but less when the structure is of brick, and the holes are either of brick, slate, stone, or wood, secured to the inner face of the wall.

The massive stone Pigeon-house was introduced into England by the Normans, and with it "the feudal right of Dovecote, which survived until the reign of Queen Elizabeth." Its form was that of the round Norman tower, domed, and somewhat resembling a kiln in appearance. The nest openings were 6 inches by 8 inches and 14 inches deep; the cavities being generally L-shaped, thus screening the sitting birds from disturbance. The holes were arranged in rows about twenty inches apart, each ten inches above the other. Separate ledges were usually placed under the holes, but were sometimes carried round the walls in a continuous line. Every pigeon-house was provided with a trap-door, or some other contrivance for preventing the escape of the birds, and possessed a strong door, with or without a grille. The more modern had barred, netted, or glazed apertures for admitting light. A very interesting point is the ladder (revolving or fixed) by which the nests were reached; and another is the lantern (often ornamental) through which the birds passed in and out. The pigeon-house was generally placed in a sunny, sheltered position, with the entrance easily seen from the adjoining dwelling-house.

The earliest examples in this country are of Norman design. That at Penrice Castle, in Gower, was probably built at the end of the thirteenth or early in the fourteenth century. Professor Freeman thought "not later than Edwardian times." It stands close to the south-west angle of the outer wall of the castle, and is in perfect preservation. It is circular in form, with an inside diameter of 10 feet, walls 4 feet in thickness, domed, and having an opening at the top 2 feet in diameter. It measures 20 feet at its highest point. It is filled throughout with nest-holes having ledges of rough stone. The entire building is of local stone, and corresponds in every respect with the castle walls. It was probably built about the same time as the castle.

The Pigeon-house at Oxwich Castle, within two or three miles of Penrice, is also round, with thick walls

containing nest-holes; but, having fallen into ruin, less than half its original structure remains.

At Oystermouth Castle, only the foundations of the circular dovecote remain, some distance south-east of the castle.

The earliest account of English Pigeon-houses appears to be that by the Rev. John Webb, in vol. xxxi. of Archælogia (1845), and contains particulars of one connected with Lewes Priory, in Sussex, and another at the Church Farm, Garway, in Herefordshire. At the former, "the pigeon-house stood south-west of the present ruins, and was taken down about 1827." "It was cruciform, and equalled in magnitude many a parish church." "There were 3,228 pigeon-holes."

The first Cluniac priory established in England was at Lewes (1077-8). At Garway the evidence of date is very striking; for, although the building, which was of stone, circular, domed, and containing 666 nesting-holes, has now disappeared, yet the Knights Templar founded a preceptory on the site, with an inscription over a doorway to the effect that "In the year 1326 Brother Richard built this Columbarium." At Bury St. Edmunds, the foundations and part of the walls of the circular pigeon-house are still visible.

The nomenclation is interesting, for although *Culver* is Anglo-Saxon for a *pigeon*, and there are two, if not three, places thus named where the wild pigeon is known to breed (Culverhole in Gower, and Culverhole Point, near the mouth of the Axe, at Seaton, in Devonshire), yet there is no evidence that any *pigeon-house* was built in this country before the Norman occupation.

Columbarium and *Columbiere* speak for themselves.

The literature of this subject is very scanty. With the exception of Mr. Webb's notices in Archæologia, and the reprint of "Moore's Columbarium," first published in 1735, there is little to be found until we come to Mr. Alfred Watkins' excellent paper read before the Archæological Institute, in 1891; and an article by the same author, in the *English Illustrated Magazine* for 1892.

The antiquity of those buildings is traced in Fosbroke's Encyclopædia to the ancient Egyptians,

who, according to Diodorus (44 B.C.), had their dovecotes, built of "reeds in a conical form, with holes for the convenience of the birds"; and "at the present time the ground floors of Egyptian houses seldom have windows, and the upper story is almost always devoted to pigeons, which are kept by thousands."

Under the head of "Economy of a Roman Villa." Fosbroke says, "Columbaria, or *dovecotes*, were towers, or places under tiles." In another place he remarks, "Bakehouses, dovecotes, cowhouses, and other places, were appendages to the churches of the monasteries."

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The Parish Church of St. Leonard's, Sandridge.

No apology can be needed to the Society for printing in the present "Transactions" Papers by the late Rev. Dr. Griffith, and the Rev. J. A. Cruikshank, on the interesting little church of which each was vicar—the former from 1872 to 1890, and the latter from 1891 to 1899.

It is over twenty years now since Dr. Griffith read his Paper before this Society, viz., in January, 1885. The restoration of the church was then in hand, and every detail connected therewith was followed with the keenest interest, most patient thought, and warmest enthusiasm by Dr. Griffith. The Paper was not included

APPENDIX.—Pigeon-Houses in Hertfordshire.

Locality.	Shape.	Walls.	Inside diameter.	Nest holes.	Lantern.	Vane.	Roof.	Doors.	Windows.	Ladder.	Date.	Remarks.
Poles Farm, Ware.	Octagon.	Brick.	12 feet.	450, made with flat brick string course no ledges.	Lead octagonal trapped cupola, supported by eight wood pilasters.	N.S. E.W. surmounted by arrow.	Tile.	1, wood.	1, Circular wired not glazed.	Revolving.		E. S. Hanbury, Esq., Poles, Thundridge, proprietor. Mr. Trebell, tenant. String course outside about 4 feet from ground. Pigeon house still full of birds.
Rennesley, Wade's mill, Ware.	Square.	Brick.	16 feet.	640.	Lead square wooden supports trapped.	None.	Tile.	1, wood.	2 circular	None.		Still used for pigeons; peculiar fastening for door. Mr. Oliver, tenant. Mr. Puller, Youngsbury, owner.
Amwell Bury, Ware.	Octagon.	Brick, 14 ins. cemented outside.	16 feet.	750, wood, 18 in., fixed to surface of wall.	Lead, octagonal latticed, having 24 openings, hinged latticed trap.	Arrow, N.S. E.W.	Tile, cemented angles.	1, strong wood, iron grille.	None.	Double revolving.	Dwelling house, said to be 14th century.	Building partly in ruin: no birds. Basil Richardson, Esq., tenant. E. S. Hanbury, Esq., owner, Poles, Thundridge, Ware.
Wymondley Bury, Stevanage.	Square.	Height 18 ft., upper half timbered, lower half brick.	24 feet.	234.	Double-gabled ends, N. & S., trap gone.	None.	Tile.	Probably chestnut—one piece.	1 iron-barred	None.		Out of use. W. H. Fox, Esq., tenant. Miss Wilshire, Welwyn, owner.
The Cottage, Wymondley Priory.	Square.	Brick.										Now used as a cottage chimney running through lantern.
†Graveley Hall	Oblong.	Brick.	22 feet.	Ledges.	Square, circular cupola, lead.	None.	Tile.	Wooden.	1 glazed.	Wooden frame work with one short ladder.	1840 over door.	Mr. Wright. Pigeon house infested by rats; no string course.
*Graveley Bury.	Square.	Brick.		386, ledges.	Square, 4 gables.	None.	Tile.	Wood.				J. D. Smith, Esq., Stevenage Bury.
Highdown, Pirton.	Square.	Timbered, faced with brick.	22 feet.	380, wood, no ledges.	Double gable E. and W., no trap.	None.	Tile.	1, wood.	2 glazed.	None.	House, 1504	J. Pollard, Esq. Double-gabled, similar to supposed dove cote at Nash's Farm, Sandridge, dove cote still in use.
Parsonage Farm, Pirton.	Square.				Double gable.							Mr. Davies. Not in use.
Hammond's Farm, Pirton.	Square.	Brick.		100 holes, built in thickness of walls, brick ledges.	Double gable, not trapped.	None.	Tile.	Wood, double lock.	None.	None.		Mr. J. Kingsley, tenant.
Walkern Place, Walkern.	Octagon.	Brick, 2 ft.	21 feet.	15 ins. deep, L shape, 420 ledges continuous throughout.	Lead, dental moulding, octagonal, surmounted by spike and round ball, not trapped.	None.	Tile.	1 door, reached by ladder from outside.	None.	None.	House, 17th century.	2 floors, lower used as granary, upper as dove cote; reached by ladder; still in use.
Home Farm, Little Gaddesden. ‡	Octagon.	Brick.		About 400, occupying upper half of building only.	Lead, bell-shaped cupola, light wooden pilasters.	Support remaining, vane gone.	Tile.	Wood.	1 dormer window on each of the 8 sections of the roof.	Revolving, supporting on long step ladder.		Nest holes consist of stone slabs upon face of brick wall, with slate compartments.
Burge End Farm, Pirton.	Square.	Brick.		360 in wall.	Double gable, no trap.	None.	Tile.	Wood.	None.			Mr. Burton, tenant. Used as fowl-house. No pigeons.

* See Figure 18. † See Figure 19. ‡ See Figure 20.

in the Transactions of the Society, owing to the fact that the author considered that there were many points connected with the history of the building which needed further investigation and elucidation. In fact, he was collecting material from every available source for this purpose; but, owing to ill-health, he was unable to carry out his intention of writing a Paper on the Church and Parish as full, complete and trustworthy as patient research and ripe judgment could produce. The Paper was reported at the time in the *Herts Advertiser*, to which happy circumstance we owe its preservation from oblivion, and the ready courtesy of the proprietors of that journal has allowed the Society to reproduce this very valuable and interesting contribution for the benefit of its members. There are no doubt points in it which its learned author would have modified later; for there were many interesting facts revealed by the restoration works of which he was cognisant, but of which no notes are, unhappily, to be found amongst his papers.

THE FOLLOWING IS THE PAPER,

ENTITLED

"The Parish Church of St. Leonard's, Sandridge."

It is exactly eleven centuries this year [A D. 1885] that, with the sanction of Pope Adrian I., the Province of Canterbury was dismembered, and King Offa secured the elevation of the Bishop of Lichfield as a third archbishop in England over his kingdoms of Mercia and East Anglia, thus depriving Lambert, Archbishop of Canterbury, of seven dioceses. The arrangement lasted for only fourteen years; but, the circumstance is sufficiently interesting to justify its quotation from the fact that the earliest recorded mention of Sandridge, as far as I can ascertain, is, that it was given to St. Alban's Abbey by King Egfrid, who was for nine years associated in the great kingdom of Mercia with his father, Offa, known as the founder, or refounder of St. Alban's Abbey; and, who reigned alone after his father's death.

We know nothing of the ecclesiastical history of the village until much later. It would be interesting to enquire what was the condition of parishes at this period, so far as they were then formed; what was the

arrangement made in regard to building the church; and, still more, what were the burial grounds in those very ancient days. Recently, in the parish of Wheathampstead, there has been discovered a considerable cemetery of Saxon times, from which one or two remnants have been taken. The site of the discovery is the top of the hill, just beyond Lord Kilcoursie's residence in a pit worked by Mr. Jonathan Cox.

Whatever may have been the burying-ground used by the inhabitants of Sandridge before its gift to the Abbey by King Egfrid, it is quite certain that in the middle of the Norman period there was a church here. It was, however, called a chapel, as many churches were in those days. It was consecrated by Herbert Losinga, the first Bishop of Norwich, the founder of Norwich Cathedral and of the churches of St. Nicholas at King's Lynn and Yarmouth. His life and writings have been published in two volumes by the present Dean of Norwich.* There is a beautiful manuscript of his in the Cambridge University Library. He died in 1119. Sandridge Church was consecrated not much later, if any, than St. Alban's Abbey Church, which took place on Holy Innocents' Day, 1116.

We can form a good idea of this early church from portions yet existing, viz., the wall which separates the chancel from the nave, and the north and south terminations of the nave walls. To realize the early state of the church we must remove the beautiful arcading of the Norman arches and pillars, the north and south aisles, and the stone-work which now ornaments the screen, and replace them by rough walls; the dividing wall pierced by a depressed semi-circular arch of Roman bricks, rudely put together with great thicknesses of mortar between brick and brick, carefully plastered on its underside, and standing on two upright pillars made of the same materials. The nave walls were pierced by narrow Norman lights, splayed out from the exterior to the interior; and the western wall was pierced with a half-circular arch, opening into the low Norman tower. It is impossible at present to determine whether there was an apse or chancel at the east end.

* The late Dean Goulburn. [Ed.]

Probably when we come to restore the chancel we shall be able to determine whether it was an apse or a chancel. There are marks which lead us to suspect that we shall find that it was an apse; but we cannot be quite certain.

The first change in this simple church was made during the Transition Norman times, between the years 1150 and 1175. The side walls of the nave were taken down for almost their whole length, and the two arcades of octagonal pillars, with their bold, beautiful capitals, and the semi-circular arches of Tottenhoe stone erected in their stead. When the late Sir Gilbert Scott, a fortnight before his death, visited this church—with the late secretary of this Society, Mr. Ridgway Lloyd—he was so struck with the freedom and beauty of this work, that he exclaimed, "The man who worked those capitals might have wrought with Phidias on the Parthenon!"

A clerestory was raised over this arcading; aisles, north and south, were added in flint work, with windows—not as now, but of that time [Transition period]. A portion of one of these may now be seen, with a new stone-head added to it. This great change having taken place not later than the year 1180 seems to argue in favour of an earlier origin to the church than the date of its consecration—which was at its latest in the year 1119—as suggested by Mr. Gordon M. Hills. One noticeable feature in the addition of the aisles is the junction of Roman brick-work of the old east wall of the nave with the then new flint-work of the aisles. Similar straight joints may be noticed in work of Roman bricks in St. Stephen's church. At this period was introduced the Norman font of Tottenhoe stone, which still stands against the pillar near the north porch door, with its intersecting half-circular arches, and the arrangement for covering it, and the stone steps, worn by knees of clergy and parents, who have there for seven centuries dedicated to God and His Church the children of thirty generations. Its leaden lining is marked by the initials of less reverent men of the time of the Commonwealth.

The next change was made during the Early English period, by removing the west wall, with its low, half-circular headed arch, and replacing it by a new wall with an Early English arch, and two columns of Early

English work, vying in beauty of form and work with their earlier neighbours. In each there seems to be a recollection of the work of the old Greek or Roman artists. Mr. Keyser has suggested that probably, at times when the Abbey Church at St. Alban's did not require the services of its best workmen, the latter may have been sent out into parishes around, and allowed to do work there, so that the Abbey might not lose them altogether. The beautiful capitals of the old Norman arches, and, as far as we can as yet see them, those of the Early English arch, show that it was no ordinary hand that did the work.

During the latter part of the fourteenth century some early Perpendicular work was introduced into not a few of our churches; and, by this time, the rough chancel walls of this church were not creditable to the Abbey to which it belonged. What was to be done? It seems that the builders began their work of improvement by taking out for some feet in height the whole length of wall dividing the nave from the chancel, shoring up the upper portion, cutting away the upper part of the two brick pillasters that supported the chancel arch, and inserting the beautiful stone-work which still exists, in spite of the old arch and the mass of the wall above pressing on the weakest portion of the delicate open work, with its four-leaved flowers, its strange carvings of heads, its arms of the Abbey and of some unknown person,* and the quaint unaccountable-figured stone seat ends†—one narrower and deeper than the other. Long may it stand, in spite of restoration proclivities, to mark a fourth period in the history of the church. Soon afterwards, during the abbacy of John de la Moote, the chancel was rebuilt by him from its foundations, with its priest's door on the north side, and its early

* Mr. Ridgway Lloyd was of opinion that these were the arms of John de la Moote, who was Abbot from the year 1396 to the year 1401.

† "At Sandridge, Herts, there is a solid wall, pierced with windows between the nave and chancel, and with a central doorway, by the sides of which are stone stall ends, on one is carved a listening priest, on the other a woman, beads in hand, which is curious enough in itself, but, I think, also shows that confessions were heard near the chancel arch . . . . " See "The Low-side Windows of Surrey Churches," by P. M. Johnson. Surrey Archæological Collections, Vol xiv., pp. 127-8. [Ed.]

Fig. 22.—Interior of the Chancel, St. Leonard's Church, Sandridge, about 1886.
From a Coloured Drawing in Rev. Dr. Griffith's Collection.

Perpendicular windows; its now almost obliterated wall paintings, and its remarkable timbering resting on buckle corbels, still as fresh as when they came from the chisel of the workman, who either worked earlier than John de la Moote, or imitated earlier work.

About the same time the south aisle door, and the windows of both aisles were replaced by Perpendicular work; and, apparently, then was opened the splayed low window, which afforded a view of the nave from outside. This was probably intended to enable people from without to look upon an accessory altar in the south-east of the nave.

How was the heavy bare wall, facing the nave, where in other churches so much beauty was presented to the people in the nave, brought into harmony with the rest of the church? The remains of colour on the west face of the lower stone work, and upon the uppermost part of the rough wall, and the omission of it between, suggest that some other ornament was provided for the intermediate portion. Two evidently corresponding cuts in the stone capitals of the two eastern pillars seem to be just adapted for the support of a beam across the length of the wall; and, the interval between the two lower apertures and the one upper, was on the right level for another corresponding beam. Here, then, stood the ornamental rood loft of wood, covering to the eye "the foul deformity" which had been so puzzling.*

There is much yet to be said of the encaustic tiles; the painting of St. Michael, and of his adversary; the fall of the tower of the church; the lowering of the roof—and the funeral sermon of the churchwarden who arranged it; the building of the existing tower; the history of the bells; the communion rails and the pulpit; the rush of people out of church when the roof gave way—following the lead of the tower; the fire-place in the squire's pew; the furniture of the church when Sir Hugh was the vicar; the curious history of the stage-player and poet, Stephen Gosson, afterwards a Puritan divine, and many other bits of lore which ought some day to be committed to writing and print.

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* There is a Paper on Sandridge Church, dealing more particularly with this screen by Mr. Somers Clarke [A.D. 1885] in the *Archæological Journal*, Vol. xlii. p. 247. [ED.]

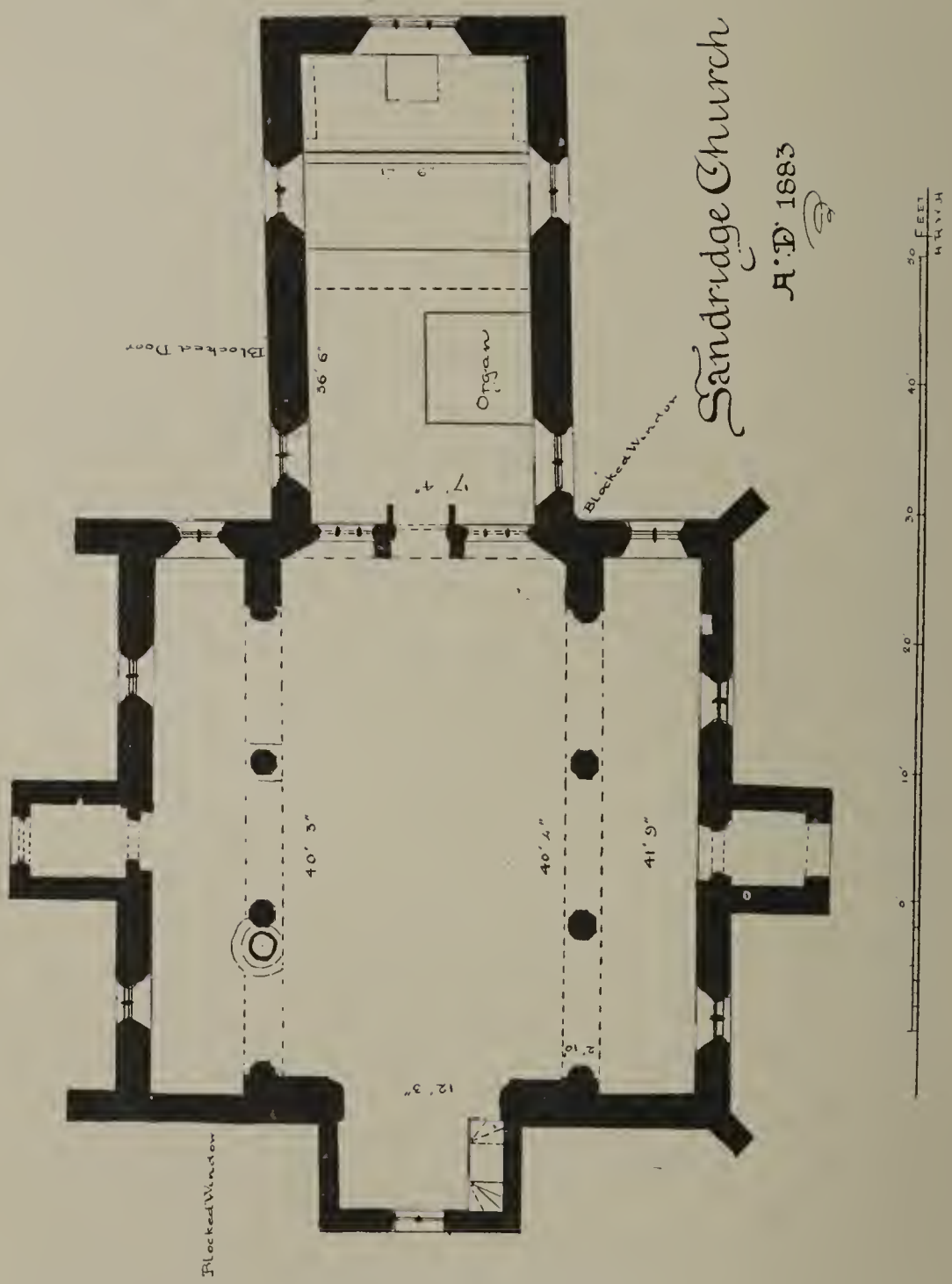

Fig. 23.—Plan of Church.

Some Dates in the History of St. Leonard's Church, Sandridge.

A Paper read at a Meeting of the Society, held at Sandridge, June 24th, 1900, by the Rev. J. A. Cruikshank, M.A.

In 785 the Province of Canterbury was dismembered, and King Offa secured the elevation of the Bishop of Lichfield as a third Archbishop in England, over his kingdoms of Mercia and East Anglia, thus depriving Lambert, Archbishop of Canterbury, of seven dioceses. This arrangement lasted for only fourteen years; but the circumstance is sufficiently interesting to justify its quotation, from the fact that the earliest recorded mention of Sandridge is, that in the year 796, the parish being part of the revenue of the Mercian kings, was given by Egfrid, the son of Offa, the founder or refounder of St. Alban's Abbey, in the first year of his reign to Abbot Eadric, second Abbot of St. Alban's monastery, and to the monks of St. Albans. The name under which it was given was that of Sandruage, so denominated by the Saxons from the soil of the place, and the service by which the inhabitants held their lands; for the soil is sandy, and "age" signified the service of bond tenants.

Twelve successive Saxon Abbots held the manor; but, between the years 1066 and 1077, King William I. probably held Sandridge. He appointed Abbot Paul de Caen, in whose hands it was in the time of the Domesday Survey.* It was rated for ten hides, and those lands, with several other lands belonging to the Monastery of St. Alban, were confirmed to it afterwards by the characters of several succeeding kings.

St. Alban's Abbey Church was consecrated on Holy Innocents' Day in the year 1116. The church at Sandridge was consecrated and dedicated to St. Leonard by Herbert Losinga, first Bishop of Norwich, the founder of Norwich Cathedral, certainly not later than the year 1119,† under the denomination of a chapel. It was of old, it seems, appropriated to the said monastery, and a vicarage ordained and endowed; both of which, together with the manor—to which the church is an appendant—the Abbot and Convent held till their dissolution.

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* A.D. 1088. † He died A.D. 1119.

The most ancient remains are those of the wall dividing the nave from the chancel, still marked by the rude semi-circular arch, carefully plastered on its underside—which shows that it was not a mere *relieving* arch—and the two exterior endings, north and south, all three in Roman tile. There are also some corresponding portions traceable at the west end of the church. At that time, whether Saxon or Norman, the church consisted, apparently, of a smaller chancel, or apse, and a nave without aisles.

About the period A.D. 1150 to 1170—or even earlier, in King Stephen's reign*—the side walls were taken down for almost their whole length, and the two arcades of octagonal Norman pillars, with their beautiful capitals and the semi-circular arches of Tottenhoe stone, erected in their stead. A clerestory was raised over this arcading. The east and west walls were left untouched, but the north and south aisles were added in flint-work. The windows were not as they now appear, but were of that period—Norman. A portion of one of them may still be seen, with a new stone head added to it. This great change took place not later than the year 1180. The ancient doorways were apparently transferred to the aisles. It is suggested that the beautiful capitals of the old Norman arches, and those of the Early English arch were the work of some of the best workmen engaged upon the Abbey. To this period belongs the Norman font of Tottenhoe stone, which, before the restoration, stood against the pillar near the north porch door.

The next change was made in the reign of King Edward I.† during the Early English period, by removing the west wall, with its low semi-circular headed arch, and replacing it by a new wall, with an Early English arch and two columns, with capitals, of Early English work, opening into the tower.

Between the years 1350 and 1400, some feet in height of the old wall, dividing the nave from the chancel, were taken out, the upper portions shored up, the upper part of the two Roman tile pillasters that supported the chancel arch were cut away, and the beautiful stonework screen, which still exists, inserted. The old wall, together with the old arch, had gone over, out of the

* A.D. 1135 to 1154 † A.D. 1270 to 1307.

perpendicular, about three inches to the west when the screen was built. The screen was built truly perpendicular, and the difference between it and the old wall was made up by extra thickness of plastering. The intention of this screen appears to have been to give a wider view of the elevation of the Host than the original narrow Saxon arch admitted. About this time, too, a rood loft was introduced on the west front of the old wall.

In the year 1399 the chancel was rebuilt from the foundation by John de la Moote, the thirty-first Abbot of St. Alban's, who was elected Abbot on the 9th of October, 1396. It has a priest's door on the north side, and early Perpendicular windows, some almost obliterated paintings, and some remarkable timbering, resting on buckle corbels. About the same time the south-aisle door and the small Norman windows of both aisles, splayed from the exterior, were replaced by Perpendicular work. Apparently it was during this period that the Low-side window was opened in the south-east angle at the junction of the chancel and nave, possibly to enable people from without to look upon an accessory altar in the nave against the chancel screen, beneath the rood loft.

In the seventeenth century, about the year 1688, the tower fell. Salmon, the county historian, writing in the year 1728, says: "The steeple hath been down, and lain in rubbish almost forty years, without any endeavour to repair it, to the great shame of the inhabitants."*

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* In the Churchwardens' Accounts for the year 1699, the item "Paid for taking Down som of the Church Steeple £3 4s. 6d." occurs; and in the year 1701 we read, "John Jaques for Hanging up the Bells, 17s. 0d." This shows that some attempt was made to do something at the west end before Salmon wrote.

Again, a letter from Mr. Edmund Wood, vicar, in 1710, to the Registrar of the Archdeaconry, Mr. Brown, gives some account of important repairs done to the roof of the church.

"Sandridge, July 22nd, 1710.

Mr. Brown,—Whereas it happened that the chief capital beam in the body of our church, called the crown piece, to which the rafters were affixed, was by length of time or default of officers in not taking timely care to keep it well covered, the said crown piece was much perished and broken in the middle, so that the rafters sunk down and had like to have given way, for the whole covering of lead and timber to have fallen upon our heads. Neither could we perform divine service without evident peril to life or limb. Therefore, John Jaques,

About the year 1786 the clerestory, which had a row of small windows on each side, was removed by the present Mr. William Paul's father, under the direction of the churchwarden, Mr. Ralph Thrale,† of No Man's Land Farm. In 1800, the dormer, or attic windows shown in

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our churchwarden, calls a vestry and showed some of the principal neighbours that appeared there, their own danger, particularly one who used to sit under a dormer window, which was just ready to drop upon his head, who, nevertheless, seemed not very forward with a reparation. However, after two vestries called, and Easter approaching, and few appearing either to consent or gainsay, therefore the churchwarden sets the plummers and carpenters and smith and bricklayer on work, as he did himself too, and was very diligent to see after the labourers and to put his own shoulder to some of the heaviest burdens to my knowledge, and lost many a day's gainful work by attending to this, which he did not only out of his own good inclination, to the good of the church, but as a sworn officer and guardian of it, as he plainly affirms. Now that the church is well repaired is owing to the care of the said churchwarden, but some of this neighbourhood, to make themselves look like a wise and governing sort of people, since they cannot deny but that John Jaques has well performed his duty in this matter, and know his power in church affairs, being of their own election, nevertheless, keep him out of his money, and the workmen too, by a sort of cavilling about the workmen's bills, who, God knows, are not yet paid one farthing on the account, or at least, as I hear of. Henry Wilson, the plummer, will swear to the truth and equity of his bill, and I doubt not so will the other workmen also. Therefore I pray your Venerable Court will not let honest well wishers to the church be run down and defrauded, while they are doing their duty, without your care for their relief. With my humble service to you in hopes of your advice and assistance, both in relation to my churchwarden in particular and the Church of England in general.

I am,
Your very humble servant,
EDM. WOOD.

The Churchwarden and workmen are very willing to lay their bills down in your Court, to be censured by such skilfull workmen as shall in your wisdom be appointed to examine them.

Endorsed—These for Mr. Brown, Register of St. Albans.

This letter seems to make it clear that there was at any rate one dormer window existing a century before William Paul erected those shown in Figures, 24 and 26.

In the year 1733, 1s. was paid to John Nash "for keeping up the Barge end of the church." [ED.]

† "William Paul's father. William Paul lowered the old roof without taking off the lead, having put in fresh beams, laying planks on the old original 'tier' walls which had a row of small windows on each side, and then lowering one side, say six inches, and then the other, and so on, using wedges. The wall removed was about a yard high, and very tender. The attic windows then put in were made by Wm. Paul." See Dr. Griffith's Papers, Sandridge 2. a. (c). [ED.]

Fig. 24.—Sandridge Church from the S.E.

From the Lewes Evans Collection, after a sketch by Pridmore, about A.D. 1800.

Fig. 25.—Sandridge Church from the W.

From the Lewes Evans Collection, after a sketch by Pridmore, about A.D. 1800.

the photograph in the vestry of the church, were added by William Paul.* The altar rails were made by William Lawrence, the father of the present William Paul's grandmother.†

The tower was rebuilt on a very mean scale in the year 1820, ‡ with its west wall over graves. The foundations giving way, it got out of the perpendicular, tore away the nave roof, and frightened the congregation out of church one Sunday during morning service.§ This tower was pulled down at the restoration of the church, when a bay was added, and the clerestory rebuilt.

The mediæval tiles taken from the nave were relaid in the chancel. The organ, given some years ago by three of the parishioners, was removed from its temporary position in the chancel to the west end, and the dividing wall between the chancel and nave so dealt with as to obviate, to a great extent, the difficulties formerly caused by the obstruction. The churchyard was levelled at the same time. The whole expense of this work amounted to about £3,800. The vestry was the gift of Miss Burchmore. The east window is a memorial to Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Kinder, of Sandridgebury, and their daughter, Mrs. White. There are also memorial windows to Mr. George Young, of Nash's Farm; the late Rev. John Griffith, LL.D., vicar, 1872—1891; and the late Mr. and Mrs. T. Powney Marten, of Marshalswick. The pulpit was presented by Mrs. T. P. Marten, and the lectern by Mrs. Marten.

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* There were dormer or attic windows here before the year 1800. The small view, Fig. 24 taken about the year 1800 shows one on the south side, and another larger one of about the same period (Fig. 26) shows one on the north side also. Another view (Fig. 25) which is from a sketch by Pridmore taken towards the end of the 18th century, shows the West-end with the Early English arch exposed. There is another view extant from Dr. Griffith's collection which also shows this exposed arch. [Ed.]

† This shows that they must belong to the 17th century. [Ed.]

‡ Dr. Griffith gives the date as 1837. [Ed.]

§ The Parish Accounts throw just a little light upon the building of the Tower:—1836, "Sept. 23, Mun for picking stones for Church Tower, 5s. 8d." "Paid Mr. Hall on Church, £20." In 1837 three sums, viz., £20, £10, and £30 were paid to Mr. Hall on account, and, in 1838, "May 13, Mr. Harry Cox for Stones for Church Tower, £5." [Ed.]

The Bells.—In 1553 there were three bells, which were recast in 1837. The ring of six bells now in the tower was completed by relatives and friends of Mr. Thomas Smith, of the Pound Farm, "a man of singular kindness and judgment," and churchwarden for 44 years, from March, 1842, till his death in January, 1888.

Vicars of Sandridge [Sandrugge], Hertfordshire.

This list of the Vicars is mainly the work of the Rev. H. T. Fowler, and will be found in the Fowler Papers, under the heading "Sandridge."

RICHARD HARWODE, or HOREWOOD.—His will is dated 26 March, 1419. He was buried in the chancel of St. Leonard's, Sandridge, and the supervisor of his will was John Bryan, rector of Ayot Mountfichet (St. Peter's). [See "Herts Genealogist" Vol. I., p. 66]. *Patron:* Abbot of St. Alban's.

JOHN BRYANE, [on the death of Richard Harwode, probably the same person who was supervisor of Richard Harwode's will] 1419?—He made his will 3 September, 1445, which was proved on the 19th of November following*. *Patron:* Abbot William Heyworth.

ROBERT RIDLEY.—Resigned, June, 1465. His will was made the same year. [Wills, Arch. St. Alban's, "Stoneham," f. 114]. *Patron:* Abbot Willam Alban.

WILLIAM TYLER,† Chaplain.—26 June, 1465, on the resignation of Robert Rydley. An annual pension of £3 4s. 8d. was reserved. [Regist. John Wheathampstead II. p. 46]. He resigned the Vicarage of Codicote on the same date. Before that he had been Vicar of Pottesgrave which he resigned 28 August, 1463. [Regist. John Wheathampstead II. p. 16]. *Patron:* Abbot William Alban.

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* This same John Bryan, vicar of Sandrugg, and Philip at Nasch, on 16 August, 1445, witnessed the will of Richard Hemmyng, of the same parish, which was proved 23 September, in the same year. His death seems to have had an effect on both witnesses The vicar made his will 3 September and Philip at Nasch made his 14 October following. Both died very shortly afterwards, for the will of the former was proved on the 19th and that of the latter on the 20th November following. "Herts Genealogist," Vol. III. p. 141.—[Ed.]

† *Alias* Cony. See Reg. John Wheathampstead II. 16. [Ed.]

Fig. 26.—Sandridge Church from N.E.

From a coloured sketch formerly in the possession of Dr. Griffith, taken between 1800 *and* 1820.

THOMAS THIKTHORPE, "Capellanus."—13 August, on the resignation of William Tyler. Pension reserved. He resigned the Vicarage of Newenham on the same date. [Regist. II. p. 81, 82]. On resigning this living he was presented to Ridge, 12 October, 1470. [Regist. II. 94].* *Patron:* Abbot William Alban.

JAMES WALEYS, "Capellanus."—12 October, 1470, on the resignation of Thomas Thikthorpe. Pension reserved. [Regist. II. 94]. On the same date he resigned the Vicarage of Ridge, to which he had been appointed 3 July, 1462, on the flight of the Vicar, J. Bernard. [Regist. II. 11]. He obtained a licence to make a pilgrimage to Rome and the Holy Sepulchre, 2 January, 1476.† *Patron:* Abbot William Alban.

GILBERT LANCASTER, "Capellanus."—14 December, 1477, on the resignation of James Waleys. Pension reserved [Regist. II. 176]. He appears to have resigned on, or soon after 14 April, 1485, the date of an attested promise of the vicarage to John Lenarde. *Patron:* Abbot William Wallingford.

JOHN LENARDE.—14 April, 1485 [Reg. II. 273]. He became vicar of Abbot's Walden, date lost, which vicarage he resigned about 1488 [Reg. II. 291]. *Patron:* Abbot William Wallingford.

HUGH HARDING.—He witnessed the will of Raufe Rowlett, 16 February, 1543 [Herts Genealogist, Vol. II. 126]. He signed the Inventory of Church Goods as Receiver for the Crown in 1552 [*see* Cussan's "Church Goods in Hertfordshire," p. 27]. *Patron:* Probably King Henry VIII.

RICHARD ADAMSON.—15 April, 1574, on the death of Hugh Harding. *Patron:* Sir Christopher Smith, knight, for this turn.

RICHARD WOODWARD.—9 February, 1581. "No graduate or preacher: resident: the living valued at £8 and in Her Majesty's gift during the minority of

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* Thomas Thikthorpe was appointed Vicar of St. Peter's, St. Alban's, 14 December, 1477, which living he resigned 21 December, 1480. Regist. II. 238. [Ed.]

† Regist. John Wheathampstead II. 119. [Ed.]

one Mr. (Thomas) Jennings." [*Acta*, Archdeaconry of St. Alban's, quoted by Urwick, Nonconformity in Herts p. 328.] *Patron:* Queen Elizabeth.

STEPHEN GOSSON.—31 October, 1586. Scholar of Christ Church, Oxford. Poet and Satirist. Author of "Schools of Abuse" in 1579. The baptism of two of his sons is recorded in the Sandridge Register. Resigned Sandridge in 1591 for the Rectory of Great Wigborough, co. Essex. He died Rector of St. Botolph's, London, 13 February, 1623-4, and was buried in the Chancel there. To the poor of Sandridge he bequeathed 40s. [Cussans, Herts. Vol. III. Hundred of Cashio, p. 228]. *Patron*: Thomas Jennings, esquire.

WILLIAM WESTERMAN, D.D.*—11 February, 1592, of Gloucester Hall, Oxford, Rector of Bushey in 1594. Chaplain to Archbishop Abbot in 1608. In 1594 the number of communicants in Sandridge was returned as about 200. [See Urwick who quotes from *Acta*, p. 331]. He was buried at Sandridge, 21 June, 1622 [Parish Register]. His wife and children are also buried there. *Patron:* Thomas Jennings, esquire.

RICHARD WESTERMAN.—Record wanting. On the death of William Westerman. He is supposed to have been a son or nephew of William Westerman. He was deprived † by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners 4 May, 1630. ["Calendar of State Papers," Charles I. Vol. clxvi., No. 16, quoted by Urwick, p. 331]. *Patron:* Sir John Jennings, knight—probably.

JOHN LEDINGTON, B.D.—8 May, 1630, on the deprivation of Richard Westerman. Buried at Sandridge, 29 September, 1630. *Patron:* Sir John Jennings, knight, junior.

ALEXANDER WEDDERBURNE.—17 September, 1630. On the death of John Leddington. He resigned

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* In 1608 he published two Sermons, preached at Paul's Cross, "The Faithful Subject, or Mephibosheth," and "Solomon's Porch," and in 1612," "Jacob's Well," which he preached in St. Alban's Abbey before the King. He is supposed to have been brother to John Westerman, Master of St. Alban's Grammar School. At any rate he is denominated in the will of John Thomas Hilocomius "my Soveringe Kinsman Mr. Westerman Clerke, viccar of Sandridge." See "Herts Genealogist, Vol. II. p. 316. [Ed.]

† for incontinency.—[Ed.]

July, 1643, and became a Presbyterian minister in Scotland, at Kilmarnock, where he died in 1678. ["Burnet," quoted by Urwick, p. 331].

JOHN HARPER, M.A.—11 July, 1643. On the resignation of Alexander Wedderburne. He resigned, or was deprived by Parliament about 1645, when the "Directory" was introduced. He became curate of Aldermanbury, London, in 1666. [Kennet's Register, p. 843, quoted by Urwick, p. 332]. *Patron*: Richard Jennings, esquire.

JOSEPH DRAPER*.—On the deprivation or cession, as is supposed of John Harper. He was incumbent at the time of the Survey of 1650. He accepted the Directory. A son, George, was buried at Sandridge, 26 June, 1656. ["Parish Register"]. He was ejected at the Restoration.

THOMAS OWEN.—31 October, 1661. He appears to have been Presbyterian Minister at Brantfield, under the Commonwealth, from whence he was ejected in 1660 to make room for the rector. He conformed in 1662, and died Vicar of Sandridge in 1680. ["Kennet's Register," 553: quoted by Urwick, p. 332]. *Patron:* Richard Jennings, Esquire.

EDMUND WOOD, died 1714.

WILLIAM COWLEY, [on the death of Edmund Wood]. *Patron:* John, Duke of Marlborough.

SAMUEL GRICE.—8 June, 1721. On the death of William Cowley.† *Patron:* John, Duke of Marlborough.

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* There is some uncertainty about Joseph Draper. Walker in his "Sufferings of the Clergy" gives him as one of the sufferers; and, later, connects him with St. Thomas Hospital, London.—[Ed.]

† In the Sandridge Parish Accounts these items appear:—For the year 1731:—"Madam Grice for Holland to mend the Surplis and Twice Washing and Mending 5s.": In 1733 "Madam Grice for getting of the plate cleaned and washing the Surplis 5s.": in 1734 "Maddam Grice, Ch. Linen, 5s.": and again in 1743—"Mrs. Grice for Washing the Church linnen 5s." But in 1744 the matter was out of Mrs. Grice's hands, and the Churchwardens paid for "Washing the Surpluss 1s. 6d." Four years later, in 1748, they paid "the Clerk's Wife for a year's washing the Surplice 7s. 6d."—[Ed.]

THOMAS EVANS.*—24 April, 1744, on the death of Samuel Grice. *Patron:* Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough.

WILLIAM LANGFORD.—30 November, 1774, on the death of Thomas Evans. *Patron:* John, Earl Spenser.

ROBERT WELTON.†—25 October, 1793, on the resignation of the Rev. Dr. Langford. *Patron:* George John, Earl Spencer.

CHARLES SPENCER BOUCHIER.—9 May, 1823, on the death of Robert Welton ‡ *Patron:* George John, Earl Spencer.

JOHN GRIFFITH, LL.D.—14 October, 1872, on the death of Chas. Spencer Bouchier. He was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge; B.A. in 1840; he obtained honours both in classics and mathematics, being 10th Wrangler in the Mathematical Tripos, and in the second class of the Classical Tripos. In 1843 he

* In the year 1758 the Churchwardens provided a "Heirscloth and Hood for a Master of Arts," at a cost of £3 17s. 0d., so that the vicar was, presumably, a graduate. [Ed.]

† Amongst Dr. Griffith's Papers, there is an interesting account book which was kept by Robert Welton from 13 May, 1773, to 31 December, 1792, which incidentally affords many particulars concerning him and his family. He came from Newington, co. Surrey, in September, 1773, to take charge of St. Stephen's—which living was then under sequestration—at a stipend of 42 guineas a year. In March, 1776, he began to take charge of Sandridge parish also, for the Rev. Dr. Langford, at a stipend of £30 a year and the surplice fees. He served the two cures for practically the whole period covered by this account book, and from 1778 for a year or two did surplice duty also at St. Michael's. In the year 1784 he was also acting as a kind of domestic chaplain to Lady Spencer at Holywell House. He was instituted to the living of Chaldon, near Caterham, co. Surrey, in 1780, from which he drew about £100 a year, and the rent of about £25 for the parsonage and glebe, paying a curate there at first £30, and later on £40 per annum. The whole book throws considerable light upon the life of a country parson, of regular and methodical habits, at the end of the 18th century. He notes that he came into Mrs. Sabine's house at St. Stephen's, 3 November, 1773; that he painted Chaldon Parsonage in the summer of 1790, and the house at St. Stephen's at the same time. In 1798 Chaldon Parsonage was again painted, and Sandridge Parsonage in the summer of 1799, in 1805, and again in 1814. He was a beautiful scribe, as both this account book and the registers of Sandridge show. A son, Robert, who had been apprenticed to an apothecary at Reading, is buried in St. Stephen's churchyard. [Ed.]

‡ The Rev. Charles Boutell, one of the two first Secretaries of this Society, appointed in the year 1845, was curate of Sandridge for several years.

took his M.A. degree, and became LL.D. in 1859. In 1843 he was ordained Deacon by the Bishop of Hereford and Priest in 1844 by the Bishop of Lichfield, and for some time was curate of Darley Abbey. In 1853 he succeeded the Rev. F. W. Robertson as incumbent of Trinity Chapel, Brighton, and in 1856 succeeded Dr. Henry Cotterill as Principal of Brighton College. He retired from that post in 1871. *Patron:* Rt. Hon. John Poyntz, Earl Spencer, K.G.

JAMES ALEXANDER CRUIKSHANK, M.A.—9 June, 1890, on the cession of Dr. Griffith. *Patron:* Rt. Hon. John Poyntz, Earl Spencer, K.G.

AUSTIN OLIVER, M.A.—16 October, 1890, on the cession of J. A. Cruikshank. Resigned 1905. *Patron:* Rt. Hon. John Poyntz, Earl Spencer, K.G.

Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester.

BY MRS. MAUDE C. KNIGHT.

I. HIS LIFE-HISTORY.

The paper I am about to read is on the subject of that Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, with whose Chantry Tomb in the Saint's Chapel of our Abbey of St. Alban we are all familiar. This monument, in the hands of an expert, would almost warrant a paper to itself, but when one remembers that Gloucester was a constant visitor to the Monastery during his lifetime—that, as the "son, brother, and uncle of kings," he took part in the historical events of a picturesque age, and, as a man of letters, was instrumental in founding the famous library, now known as the Bodleian, at Oxford, we shall find much besides to interest us in his career.

The youngest son of our fourth Henry, he was born in 1391; and, according to Bale (who lived about a hundred years later), he was educated at Balliol College, Oxford. He was wounded at the battle of Agincourt, in 1415, and later, owing to the absence in France of his brothers, Henry V. and John, Duke of Bedford, he was made Regent of England. At different times, also, he filled a variety of other offices, such as Great

Chamberlain, Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Lord of the Isle of Wight.[a]

Henry V. seems to have mistrusted his younger brother's character, for, on his death-bed, he warned the latter against selfishly placing his personal interests before the welfare of the nation.[b] On the accession of the infant Henry VI., in 1422, Gloucester claimed the Regency, but was only allowed to be Protector of England so long as Bedford remained in France; and even in this capacity his actions were, fortunately, hampered by the Executive Council, of which he was not much more than the chairman.[c]

Henry V. had not been dead many months when Humphrey displayed at once his true temper, and his disregard for his dying brother's advice, by marrying Jacqueline of Hainault.[d] This lady was the widow of the Dauphin Louis, son of Charles VI. of France; and her second husband was her cousin, John IV. Duke of Brabant, he being also cousin to Philip, the powerful Duke of Burgundy, whose friendship was all-important to England in this latter portion of the Hundred Years' war with France. That same year (1422) the Duke of Bedford had concluded an alliance, offensive and defensive, with Philip of Burgundy, and had cemented it by himself marrying the Duke's sister Anne.

But his politic efforts were thrown to the winds by the impetuous Humphrey's action. Jacqueline in her own right was mistress of Hainault, Holland, Zeeland, and Friesland; and by his marriage with her Gloucester showed an absolute neglect of all patriotic interests. It instantly alienated Philip by putting his interests at variance with those of England for possession of mastery over the Netherlands. Moreover, Jacqueline was but half-divorced from John of Brabant, her marriage with him having been annulled only by the Spanish anti-pope, Boniface III.

An undignified struggle ensued between Gloucester and Burgundy in Hainault. As a result, the former drew away, to take part in his wife's quarrel, fighting

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a "Dictionary of National Biography." Article by Professor Tout.
b Waurin's Chronicle, p. 423.
c Dict. of Nat Biog. *d* Dict. of Nat. Biog.

men from the war with France, while the latter naturally neglected the interests of his new allies, the English. Philip challenged Gloucester to a duel, but this was forbidden by both Bedford and the Pope, and soon after, Humphrey tired of Jacqueline, and left her alone to fight her own battles, gallantly but unsuccessfully.

Meantime, the Council at home had forbidden the continuance of the quarrel; and Gloucester seems to have revenged himself, by accusing the Chancellor, his uncle, Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, of maladministration during his absence.[e] Thus began those embroilments between uncle and nephew which form so great a feature in the history of the time. Bedford was recalled from France to meditate between them, and Gloucester was urged to appear at the Council which his brother held at St. Albans in 1426, to prove his charges against Beaufort.[f] It is not known whether he complied, but he certainly was present at the Parliament that assembled at Leicester in March of that year, known to history as the "Parliament of Batts," or bludgeons, from the clubs which the followers of both Gloucester and Beaufort carried on their shoulders.[g] The charges on both sides were gone into, and by Bedford's agency, a truce was patched up between them; but Beaufort resigned the great seal of the Chancellorship.[h]

A year later, Humphrey showed his self-will by averring that, when left again to his own devices (by his brother's departure for France) he would "govern as meseemeth good[i]," a threat he did not fail to carry out, for he was both reckless and extravagant in money matters, and always trying to assume greater powers than the Council were willing to give him.[j]

In 1428, the Pope annulled his marriage with Jacqueline, who submitted to Burgundy, and later on contracted a fresh marriage herself, while between 1428 and 1431, Gloucester married Eleanor Cobham, daughter of Lord Cobham of Sterborough.[k]

In 1429, Henry VI. was crowned, at the age of seven. This event brought to an end the Protectorate

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e "Constitutional History," by Stubbs. Vol. III. 104. *f Ib.* p. 106.
g Annales Mon. S. Albani Amundesham. Ed. Riley. I. Intro. xxiii.
h Const. Hist. III. 106. *i* Ord. P.C. III. 241.
j Const. Hist. III. 109-10. *k* Dict. Nat. Biog.

of Gloucester, but the constant disputes in the Council between him and Beaufort did not cease. Indeed,[l] Beaufort's acceptance of the cardinalate, in 1426, had given Humphrey a real handle against him, though the attempts which the latter made, in 1430, to have his uncle removed from the bishopric of Winchester, were unsuccessful.[m] Gloucester showed himself about this time capable of quarrelling even with his long-suffering elder brother, John of Bedford, on the subject of how the war with France was being carried out.[n] Later on, when the question arose of making peace with France, Gloucester, incompetent though he might be on the Council, increased in popularity with the nation, by an obstinate opposition to the idea.

A Congress of Ambassadors,[o] convened at Arras in 1435, in order to negotiate on the terms of peace (which, however, could not then be agreed upon) was Bedford's last public act; he died in September of the same year.[p] Gloucester was then appointed "Captain of Calais," which was shortly after besieged by Burgundy. Humphrey did not add to his military fame on this occasion; he failed to come in time to the rescue of the town, and the siege was eventually raised by Edmund Beaufort, the Cardinal's nephew. The Cardinal himself was the prime mover of the peace-party; consequently, a charge which Humphrey made against him, in 1440, as to dishonesty both in his public and private affairs, was greatly instrumental in hardening the popular mind against peace.[q]

But the end of Gloucester's power was at hand, and we find him retiring to South Wales, where he held the appointment of Chief Justice.[r] Moreover, in 1441, his wife Eleanor fell under the grave accusation of being concerned with Roger Bolingbroke in an attempt to bring about the King's death, in order to secure the succession of Humphrey, who, since Bedford died, had become heir to the throne.

The deep-rooted belief of the age in magic and sorcery easily gave credence to the tale that the conspirators had placed before a slow fire a waxen image of the

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l Amund. I. 11. *m* Const. Hist. III. 111.; *Ib.* 116.
n *Ib.* 123. *o* Const. Hist. III. 124. *p* *Ib.* 126.
q *Ib.* 130. *r* Dict. Nat. Biog.

young King, whose health was supposed to be undermined, in proportion as the image gradually melted away.[s] When the plot was discovered, Bolingbroke accused Eleanor of being "accessory to the crime," and she was put on her trial on the charge of "necromancy, witchcraft, heresy and treason." Having been found guilty, her sentence of penance was declared. Bareheaded, she was to perambulate the streets of London for three days, bearing a lighted taper in her hand, which she offered at different churches. Nor was this all: imprisonment for life was also to be hers; and, after being confined at Chester and Kenilworth, she is supposed to have died at Peel Castle, in the Isle of Man, in 1466. To rescue her was beyond her husband's power; perforce, he "took all things quietly, and said little."[t]

As bearing on these sad occurrences, I will read a stanza from a contemporary poem, called the "Lamytacion of the duches of Glowcettre":—

> "Thorow London in many a strete,
> Of them that were most pryncypalle,
> I went bare fote on my fette
> That sum tyme was wonte to ride rialle.
> Fader of hevyn and lorde of alle,
> As thou wilt, so must yt be,
> The syne of pryde will have a falle,
> Alle women may be ware by me." [u]

There are several stanzas, and each finishes with this same piteous refrain—

> "Alle women may be ware by me."

It will be remembered that Eleanor's disgrace and punishment are introduced by Shakespeare into his "Second Part of Henry VI."[v] As Mr. Train, a modern historian of the Isle of Man, points out, Shakespeare delivers the Duchess over to the custody of Sir *John* Stanley—an obvious error, as the last Sir John died in 1432, and the play only comprises the years between 1445 and 1455.[w] Stow, writing in 1590, remarks that she "remayned during her life in the Castell of Chester, having yerely an hundred markes."[x]

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s Dict. Nat. Biog. t "Grafton," p. 588, edition 1569.
u "Thomas Wright's Political Songs." Vol. II. p. 205.
v Act II. scenes iii. and iv. w "History of the Isle of Man," 1845.
x "Summearie of the Chronicles of England," p. 381.

That her custodian was really Sir *Thomas* Stanley, and that she actually was sent to the Isle of Man, is proved by the order for her committal, dated A.D. 1446:—

"24 Hen. VI.) The Kyng wol that his letters under his prive Seal be directed to Sir Th. Stanley to carie & to be caried by land & by water Elianer Cobham in the isle of Man, and there that he rule her as he hath yeve him commandement." *y*

When I was in the Isle of Man this year (1902) I was shown the dungeon in which Eleanor is supposed to have been kept for fourteen years. It is the old Ecclesiastical Prison, and lies under the ruined Cathedral of St. Germain on the rocky islet on which Peel Castle is situated. One can hardly believe that any woman could have been kept there, and survived such treatment so many years. As she was a State prisoner, with an annual income allotted for her keep, one hopes the dungeon was only used as a last resort, and that Shakespeare's reference to her treatment may be the truer version. The Duchess asks—

"Stanley, I pr'ythee go, and take me hence;
I care not whither, for I beg no favour.
Only convey me where thou art commanded." *z*

Stanley. "Why, madam, that is to the isle of Man;
There to be used according to your state."
Duchess. "That's bad enough, for I am but reproach;
And shall I, then, be us'd reproachfully?"
Stanley. "Like to a Duchess, and Duke Humphrey's lady:
According to that state you shall be used."

But that Eleanor gave her custodian an infinity of trouble seems likely. Waldron, a Manx historian of the 18th century, says she "lived in a manner befitting her dignity, nothing but liberty being refused; she appeared so turbulent and impatient under this confinement that he was obliged to keep a strict guard over her, not only because there were daily attempts to get her away, but also to prevent her from laying violent hands on her own life."*a*

Naturally the Manx tendency is to make the most of such a romantic story, and one is told over there (by

y "Monumenta de Insula Manniæ." Translated by J. R. Oliver. Vol. III. p. 19.

z "Henry VI.," Part II. Act ii. Scene 4.

a "Description of the Isle of Man," 1726. Published by Manx Society, 1865, p. 14.

what authority I do not know) of an ineffectual attempt on her part to escape by the aid of a soldier through subterranean passages to the sea-coast, and of her capture in a hermit's cell.[b]

To Waldron one is indebted for the information that since her death "a person is heard to go up and down the stone staircase of one of those little houses on the walls, constantly every night, as soon as the clock strikes twelve. The conjecture is that it is the troubled spirit of this lady, who died as she lived, dissatisfied and mourning her fate."

The King's marriage with Margaret of Anjou, in 1445, was at once a victory for Beaufort, and the defeat of Gloucester's war-policy. The young couple themselves, however, placed implicit confidence in William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, and utterly neglected Gloucester.[c] So great was Henry's distrust of his uncle that he went in bodily fear of him, suspecting an attempt on his life.[d]

At the Parliament held at Bury St. Edmund's on February 10th, 1447, Gloucester was accused of stirring up insurrection in Wales,[e] though he was, in fact, at that moment travelling thence to the Parliament, hoping to secure his wife's pardon.[f] On arrival at Bury he was ordered to his lodgings in the N. Spital of St. Saviour's, and kept in strict custody, while his followers were imprisoned. He fell ill, and on Feb. 23rd he died; but though foul play was suspected, none of his friends, such as Wheathampstead, Abbot of St. Albans, raised any doubt at the time as to the naturalness of his death, his health being known to be weak.[g]

If he was murdered, suspicion naturally falls on Suffolk, rather than on the youthful King and Queen (Margaret being only eighteen at the time), or perhaps it was due to the joint connivance of the Council, who must have been responsible for the arrest.[h] Shakespeare, who brings Gloucester into his plays of Henry V. and Henry VI., parts I. and II., describes his murder by the

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b "Handbook to Peel Castle," p. 8.
c Const. Hist. III. 138. *d* Registrum Abb. Wheat. I. 179.
e Dict. Nat. Biog. *f* Three XVth Cent Chron. p. 150.
g Dict. Nat. Biog. *h* Const. Hist. III. 141.

agents of Suffolk[i], but modern opinion seems to agree that his death was due to natural causes.

The day after death, his body was viewed by the members of Parliament,[j] and, after being put in a leaden coffin, was taken to St. Albans,[k] and placed in a "fair vault," already prepared for him on the south side of St. Alban's Shrine, on March 4th, 1447.[l] For seven years after Gloucester's death, attempts were made by his friends in Parliament to clear his memory of the charges of treason under which he had died, but it was not till 1455 that a public declaration of his innocence was made.[m]

It is a curious coincidence that his death was followed, within six weeks,[n] by that of his life-long enemy, Cardinal Beaufort. Nor did Suffolk long enjoy undisputed sway over the counsels of the king and queen, for in 1450 he was impeached and banished, and was murdered on the seas within sight of the Kentish coast.[o]

One of the contemporary songs of the day, composed in 1462-3, bears testimony to the popular belief that Gloucester died by foul means:

> "Calling to mind the fals engendred treson,
> And myschyefz that were in hys dayes regning,[a*]
> The good duc of Gloucestre, in the season
> Of the parlement at Bury beyng,
> Was put to death."[p]

While yet another of these songs[q], written at the time of Suffolk's arrest, emphasises not only the supposed manner of Gloucester's death, but the author of it. In these lines the "Fox" represents Suffolk, and the "Gander" Gloucester:

> "Now is the Fox drevin to hole; hoo to hym, hoo, hoo!
> Ffor and he crepe out, he will you alle undo.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Loke that your hunt blowe welle his chase,
> But he do well is part, I beshrew is face!
> This Fox at Bury slowe owr grete Gandere,
> Therefore at Tyborne mony monne on hym wondere."

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i "Henry VI.," Part II. Act ii. Sc. 1.

j Const. Hist. III. 140. *k* Dict. Nat. Biog.

l Some writers give the date of his death as 1446, which is right according to the "old style" of computation.

m Reg. Abb. Wheat., I. 178-182.

n Const. Hist. III. 143. *o* *Ib.* 154.

*a** Henry VI.'s reign.

p Polit. Songs, II. 268. *q* *Ib.* 224.

II. HIS CONNECTION WITH ST. ALBANS.

Having given a brief survey of the more important facts in Gloucester's life regarded chiefly from a political point of view, we may turn our attention to those incidents in it which connect him, in a very close and personal manner, with the then flourishing Monastery of St. Alban.

These incidents are drawn almost entirely from two volumes of the Monastic Chronicles; one, comprising the years 1422-1431, is by an unknown author; the other, ascribed to "Johannes Amundesham," includes the year 1421-1440. The Abbot, for the whole of this period, is John Whethamstede, whose rule forms one of the most picturesque epochs in the history of the community, and who bore a reputation for learning and courtesy which attracted to the Abbey many of the greatest personages of the day.

Among the most frequent of these visitors was Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and the first time the Chronicle mentions his arrival was in 1423, when he and his first wife, here called "Jacoba, Duchess of Holland," spent Christmas in the Abbey,[s] attended by no fewer than 300 followers, many of them countrymen of the lady. At that particular moment, Abbot John was absent on a mission to the Council of Pavia, and the visitors were received by the Prior, who initiated a solemn procession, to greet them on Christmas Eve.

It is not, perhaps, surprising that among this crowd of ducal retainers, there were many wild spirits, whose eagerness for sport found vent in remorselessly killing the deer and rabbits in Eywode (probably on the ascent from the Ver to St. Stephen's).[t] One of the delinquents, being captured, was placed in the stocks. The Duke showed his sense of the enormity of the offence by breaking the head of his luckless follower with his own hands, by means of a mattress-beater ("petilione mattrass,") while the man's greyhound, his innocent accomplice, was ordered to be hanged. So did the Duke, remarks the chronicler, "set at rest the evil appetite for hunting on part of his servants."

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s Annales Mon. S. Albani, Amund. Ed. Riley. I. 4. *t Ib.* I. 5.

Before they left St. Alban's, Humphrey and Jacqueline were both received into the fraternity of the Abbey, in acknowledgement of which they presented two pipes of good red wine to the Convent.[u] Later on, in 1431, Gloucester's second wife, Eleanor, is mentioned as being enrolled in full chapter.[v] This practice of admitting persons of both sexes, of high rank, into the fraternity, was an old one, revived by Whethamstede, in order to increase the funds of the community. "This admission . . . " says Dr. Nicholson, "imposed no monastic severities, nor gave any new civil privileges; but it was a token of esteem and honour of religion, and those admitted were allowed to vote in Chapter."

At a date which is not quite certain (but probably before 1425, when Humphrey finally deserted her), Jacqueline passed through the courtyard of the Abbey on her way to visit Queen Johanna (Henry IV.'s widow) at Langley, and two days later her husband followed her on the same route.[w]

In March, 1426, the Duke again passed through St. Alban's,[x] on his way to Barnet from Leicester (where the "Parliament of Batts," already referred to, had just been prorogued for a month), and the inhabitants of the Abbey sallied forth in solemn procession to accompany him partly on his way.

During their absence, a fire broke out in the "Abbot's Lesser Chamber" (where, no doubt, the royal traveller had received refreshment), and the "dorsals," or wall-hangings, were, unfortunately, destroyed.

In April, on his way back to the Parliament at Leicester,[y] Gloucester stayed three days in the Abbey; and in 1427, having recovered from an illness, we find him making an offering at the High Altar of the Abbey.[z]

That same year (1427) the town was much excited and distressed through the depredations of a daring bandit, William Wawe, whose chief delight was in robbing the religious bodies whenever he had the chance.

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u Annales Mon. S. Albani, Amund. Ed. Riley. I. 66.

v "St. Albans Cathedral," Page and Nicholson, p. 76; and Nero D. 7. Cott. MS.

w Annales I. 8. *x* *Ib.* I. 8-9.

y *Ib.* I. 9. *z* *Ib.* I. 13.

One of his crimes was a dastardly night attack on the Nunnery of Sopwell.[a] Finally, he was captured and hanged in London,[b] his case being important enough to demand the personal attention of the Protector, who came from Norwich to London and held a council to to determine, among other things, on the destruction of the Lollards, and of William Wawe.[c]

At Norwich, Gloucester had been occupied with a sensational "murder case" of the day.[d] A certain William Grys, with his son and servant, had been done to death there, with terrible attendant circumstances, a few years previously. In this year (1427) the six murderers were brought before the Protector and two other judges, and most deservedly hanged.

At the close of 1427, the Duke again spent Christmas at St. Albans, "in splendid style," thence passing on to stay at Ashridge.[e] About this time an incident occurs in Gloucester's life which shows that his base treatment of Jacqueline had aroused an honest indignation in some minds. At the Parliament of 1427-28, a number of respectably dressed London women from the "Stokkes" (that is, the Stocks Market, on the site of the present Mansion House), appeared, and presented a letter complaining of Duke Humphrey's conduct towards his wife, whom he had allowed to remain in captivity to the Duke of Burgundy.[f] In the Chronicle, the insertion of the word "Vacat" before this passage is probably intended to cancel it as a piece of scandal against one who held such a high place in the estimation of the Abbey.[g] A quarrel that took place in 1428 between the Earl of Huntingdon and the Duke of Norfolk nearly led to a battle between them, at some place in the county of Bedford. The Protector hastened to the spot to try and set matters right, and on his way to and from Bedfordshire he stayed at St. Albans, being received, as usual, with a procession.[h]

A hint has already been given as to Gloucester's feelings towards the Lollards, respecting which the poet Lydgate writes,—

"That in this land no Lollard dare abide."

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a Annales I. 11. *b Ib.* I. 17. *c Ib.* I. 16. *d Ib.* I. 16. *e Ib.* I. 19. *f Ib.* I., Introd., xxxiii. and *Ib.* I. 20. *g Ib.* I., Introd xxxiv. *h Ib.* I. 25.

Our chronicler specially mentions the Duke's presence, in 1431, at the burning of "an aged priest, unsound in mind," at "Smethefelde," while many others, "of either sex, assembled there to see this miserable sight."[i]

For the history of another Lollard, I will quote Mr. Riley's translations of the words of the Chronicle itself[j]:—

"About this time (1431) a certain rogue, tainted with Lollardy, and bearing three names—that is, William Maundvylle, William Perkyns, and John Scharpe, of Wygmoreland, created a certain commotion among the people by throwing about and dispersing written papers in London, Coventry, Oxford, and other towns, against the religious who held possessions. Upon whose iniquitous proceedings becoming known, the Duke of Gloucester, Protector of the realm, striving against this most iniquitous prest, hastened from Grenewych to Habyndone to have this insurgent taken; who, by the aid of God, was taken, at Oxford, about the Feast of Pentecost, together with the writers of his papers, and several others, seven in number. Which persons were drawn and hanged, and their master, John Scharpe, beheaded; whose head, being placed upon a stake on London Bridge, afforded a lamentable warning to all his followers."

One of the papers which Scharpe presented to the Duke of Gloucester sets forth his desire that the King should resume the temporalities of the higher ecclesiastical dignitaries, Bishops, Abbots and Priors, endowing in their place a certain number of Earls, Knights, Esquires, and almshouses, "who will spend the large yearly income thus provided for them in a manner more conformable to the general interests of the community."[k] Towards colleges, cathedrals, friars, canons and the lesser fry of monks and nuns he seems to have borne no grudge, and singular as the proposal sounds, it is both clearly expressed and earnest in intention. It is not uninteresting to note that, a hundred years later, when the monasteries were disendowed, some such scheme was actually put forward in order to win over popular feeling to the measure.[l]

In 1431, Abbot Whethamstede, who is famed for his litigiousness, was engaged in one of his many disputes on the question of the exemption of the Abbey and its Cells from episcopal jurisdiction. In this case, the Prior and monks of the Cell of Bynham, in Norfolk, had

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i Annales I. 61. *j Ib.* I. Introd. liii.
k Ib. I. 143, and *Ib.* I. Introd. liv. *l Ib.* I. Introd. liv., note 4.

refused to receive the Bishop of Norwich within their walls.[m] To revenge himself, the prelate appointed the prior a collector for the half-tenth[n] (a tax lately granted by the clergy to the King). The prior pleaded exemption, but to no purpose; and the Abbot of St. Alban's, after interposing vainly in his behalf, persuaded his friend the Duke of Gloucester to intercede,[o] but again with no effect, though Humphrey went to the length of doffing his cap to the irate bishop[p]. Even the Duke of Bedford's pleadings were of no avail, and the case was brought before the Court of Exchequer, and later before the Convocation. Finally, our Abbot came off victorious (though the actual judgment is not recorded in the Chronicle) and "departs in triumph."[q]

In 1440, Whethamstede determined to resign the Abbacy, alleging several causes, such as his health and his bashfulness; but the true, though secret reason, probably was the decline in power of his friend and patron, the Duke of Gloucester.[r] Possibly, though it is not historically known, the favour in which he stood with the late Protector, may have turned the enmity of Cardinal Beaufort on himself.[s] This much is certain, that, in 1451, four years after death had removed both these political rivals, Whethamstede saw fit to resume the Abbacy, which he held till his death in 1464. On his retirement in 1440, he was succeeded by John Stoke, and in 1442 we read of disputes between the new Abbot and his predecessor on the score of the latter's maintenance out of the Abbey revenues.[t] Duke Humphrey was called in to arbitrate, and not unnaturally, the verdict went in favour of his old friend, whose pension in consequence included a house and a goodly share of the monastic plate. The award of Gloucester in this dispute between Stoke and Whethamstede is dated from his manor of "Plesauns" at "Grenewiche."[u]

Before concluding this narration of the Duke's personal relations with the Abbey, I will refer to a few items in the Monastic accounts which throw some interesting side-lights on the manners, and occasionally the morals, of the age.

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m Annales I. 300. *n Ib.* I. 302. *o Ib.* I. 307.
p Ib. I. 308. *q Ib.* I. 363. *r Ib.* II. 234. *s Ib.* II. Introd. liv.
t Ib. 278-290. *u Ib.* II. 289.

In 1439, Whethamstede wished to "take stock" of the acquisitions he had made to the Abbey property,[v] which, in the Scriptural language adopted by Amundesham, he regarded as the "pounds" in the parable, given to him to make increase of them. He seems to have managed this by cleverly evading the Mortmain laws (enacted in 1279 to "check the bestowal of estates on religious foundations,") and in one case at least, when Gloucester bestowed on him the Priory of St. Nicholas, Pembroke, the Duke was not above aiding the Abbot in his artifices.[w]

Besides these acquisitions, Whethamstede makes a list of the benefactions granted to the Abbey by several persons of high degree, and first among these is a long array of gifts presented to the Abbey Church by Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester.[x] Many of these consist of Church ornaments,and vestments of great magnificence, for among others,[y] we read of an "altar-cloth and a superfrontal," having "different images interwoven with precious pearls, fitly disposed"; and also of "six cloth of gold vestments, of Cyprus gold, on a red ground, powdered with spreading branches and green foliage, together with golden lions."[z]

In an Appendix to Riley's edition of Amundesham is given a list of Whethamstede's expenses during his first Abbacy.[a] These include a large silver-gilt cup, given to the Lady Alianor, Duchess of Gloucester.[b] A more interesting item is that of a "Cato, with Glosses," given to the Duke of Gloucester, and also two other books of the Abbot's own compilation.[c] Mr. Riley thinks the Cato may be the "Cato Commentatus," which Humphrey presented to the University of Oxford in 1443.[d] It is also his opinion that the two other books may be two parts of Whethamstede's work called "Granarium de Viris Illustribus" (which he had dedicated to the Duke), and that these two are possibly identical with two out of the three volumes of the Granarium, also presented to Oxford by Humphrey in the same year.

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v Annales II. 159.

w Ib. II. Introd. li.; Handbook Eng. Pol. His., Acland and Ransome, p. 38-9; Dict. Nat. Biog., and Registrum Abb. Wheat. I. 92.

x Annales II. 187. *y Ib.* II. 188. *z Ib.* II. 189.

a Ib. II. 255. *b Ib.* II. 255. *c Ib.* II. 256. *d* II. Introd. lxiii.

One account which hardly bears the scrutiny of a modern eye, includes some paltry sums, unblushingly entered as being given to the Duke and his household, for aiding the Abbey in obtaining a renewal of its Charter of Liberties in 1440.[e] The bribe which the Duke accepted on this occasion amounted to a palfrey and a book; while gowns and various odd sums are given to his chaplains and esquires.[f]

In Chauncey's History of Hertfordshire[g] is mentioned the presentation of vestments by Gloucester to Whethamstede. (He) "by his great wisdom persuaded Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, to give a suit of vestments, with 3,000 marks, with the Manor of Pembrook, in South Wales, that the monks should pray for his soul." This refers to the acquisition of the Cell, or Priory, of "Pembrok,"[h] to which allusion has already been made.[i]

In 1453, another Earl of Pembroke, Jasper Tudor, Henry VI.'s half-brother, tried to obtain in Parliament a grant of the Priory of St. Nicholas, at Pembroke, but through the agency of John Skelton, a former esquire of Gloucester's, a provisio was inserted in the bill, saving the rights over the Priory of the Abbey of St. Albans to whom it had previously been granted by the Duke.[j] After recording due thanks for the timely intervention of Skelton, the Chronicle concludes the incident with a quaint reference to the verification of an ancient proverb about the advantage of having a "friend at court."[k]

And again, in 1456,[l] the Abbey seemed once more on the point of losing this Priory. A bill had come before Parliament to suggest that the King, in order to replenish his decreased revenues, should assume certain gifts and grants, the Priory of Pembroke among them; and Whethamstede had to procure Letters Patent under the Great Seal, in order to obtain the desired exemption.

Mr. Page considers that one of the shields on the cornice of the Ramryge Chantry in the Abbey (No. 2 on the north face), contains the arms of Pembroke Priory;

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e Annales II. 294. *f Ib.* II. 295

g Chauncey's Hist. Antiq. of Herts, II. 277.

h Annales II. 185, and Reg. Abb. Whet. I. 45-6.

i It must be remembered that one of the titles of Humphrey was Earl of Pembroke.

j Reg. Abb. Whet. I. 92-94. *k Ib.* I. 94. *l Ib.* I. 250-272.

the lion rampant representing Wales, and "the orle of daisies" (his badge) referring to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, donor of the priory to St. Albans.[m]

III.—HIS LITERARY INTERESTS.

We have now considered Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, from the two points of view of his public career and of his relations with the Abbey of St. Albans —these last, with some exceptions, not being connected with matters known to general history.

There is another side to his life, which has to do with his character and actions as a private individual, which has left to posterity an enduring monument of itself, while his political ambitions and quarrels are largely forgotten. I refer, of course, to that interest of Duke Humphrey in literature of which the outcome was the founding of the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

Not only was he a patron of literary men: he was also a student and collector of books himself.[n] His reading embraced the Italian poets of his day; works of poetry, oratory, medicine and astronomy, in Latin; and also the ancient Greek writers—these, of course, in a Latin version (the effects of the revival of Greek on the Continent not having as yet penetrated to England), the only Greek book in his possession being a vocabulary.

His patronage of men of letters strongly resembled that extended to them by the influential Italian nobles of the Renaissance; indeed, several Italian writers who found their way over to England were kindly received by Gloucester.[o] Such, among others, were Titus Livius, and Leonard Aretino, who translated Aristotle's "Politics" into Latin, at his request.[p] Among English men of letters he numbered as his friends Whethamstede, Lydgate, Pocock the unorthodox Bishop of Chichester, and his own Chancellor, Bishop Beckington.

Leland, writing about a hundred years later, and referring to the great learning of Gloucester and his frequent visits to St. Albans, says that he employed

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m Guide to St. Albans Abbey, p. 36.
n Dict. Nat. Biog. *o Ib.*
p Vita Henry V., pp. 1, 2; Ed Hearne.

Whethamstede as his librarian, or adviser on books ("*tanquam bibliothecario*"). Capgrave, a contemporary, and an Austin friar of Lynn, calls him "the most lettered prince in the world."

It was a pity that, with a Duke Humphrey to foster learning, his should have been an age of decadent literature in England. The days of Chaucer were past, those of the printing press were yet to come, and of English writers of distinction none at the moment existed. Grateful as we may be for those facts relating to St. Alban's Abbey which we have drawn from "Amundesham" and the other Chroniclers, no competent critic considers their efforts pieces of literary art; he would more probably agree with J. R. Green in calling them the "jejune monastic annals of St. Albans."[q]

Nevertheless, at that date there was certainly a more popular interest in books—the result of the rise of the Chantry Schools—as is shown by the numerous compendiums and volumes of extracts from earlier writers, and by the largely increased numbers of copies which were made. This extended demand for books among all classes certainly made the spread of printing, when it was introduced into England in 1476, a much easier matter than it would have been a hundred years earlier.

General education seems also to have interested Gloucester.[r] To Eton College, founded by Henry VI., he gave during his lifetime the endowments of some alien priories; and on his death the College came into possession of some of the ecclesiastical ornaments which he had been in the habit of collecting. One may draw a parallel between Humphrey and those noble patrons of learning of the eighteenth century with whom we are probably more familiar, in respect to the demands which their *protégés* made upon their purses. On one occasion Lydgate, being in want of money, addressed a poetical plaint to Gloucester, each stanza winding up (as the custom then was) with the melancholy refrain—

"Only for lack of plate and of coygnage."

"*L'Envoie*" of the poem, however, shows a more

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q Short History, p. 288.
r Dict. Nat. Biog., and Reg. Abb. Whet.: I. 266.

hopeful spirit, which, it is believed, was not doomed to disappointment :—

"O sely bille, why artow not ashamed,
So malapert to show out thy constraynt,
But povert hath so nygh thy toune attained,
That 'nichil habet' is cause of thy compleynt,
A dry tysik makith old men ful feynt;
Rediest way to renew theyr corage
Is a fresh dragge, of no spices meynt,
But of bright plate emprynted with coyngnage." [s]

Gloucester's interest in Oxford would naturally be accounted for by his education at Balliol, and indeed he was only twenty when he presented the University with his first donation of books.[t] In later life he gave to it 129 volumes, for which the masters thanked him, and ordained his Commemoration as one of their greatest benefactors, and his name still commences that list of benefactors whose names are solemnly recited at Commemoration.[u] Further gifts of books from him made the University resolve on building a new Library, which was to form an upper story to the Divinity School, commenced in 1426. Gloucester was offered the title of "Founder" by the masters, and promised to contribute £100 to it and the remainder of his books,[v] but as he died intestate. it was with difficulty that the legacy was obtained. J. R. Green says that the books forming the basis of the Library which Gloucester presented to Oxford were seized from the Louvre, the habit of forming libraries having already become a fashion in the royal house of France.[w] What is now called "Duke Humphrey's Library," that is, the building which forms the centre portion of the Bodleian Reading Room, was finished by Kemp, Archbishop of Canterbury, who died in 1454.[x] Unfortunately, in the days of Edward VI. the collection was broken up as being "Popish," and in the Bodleian itself, only three volumes remain of Duke Humphrey's gift, of which fortunately the "Epistles of Pliny" contains his autograph;[y] others are in the possession of different colleges at Oxford, and six are in the British Museum.

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s Dict Nat. Biog. and T. Wright's "Political Songs," vol. II.
t Dict. Nat. Biog. *u* "Oxford and its Colleges," by J. Wells.
v Macray's Ann. Bod. Lib. p. 7, 2nd Edit. *w* Sht. Hist. p. 292.
x Dict. Nat. Biog. *y* "Oxford and its Colleges."

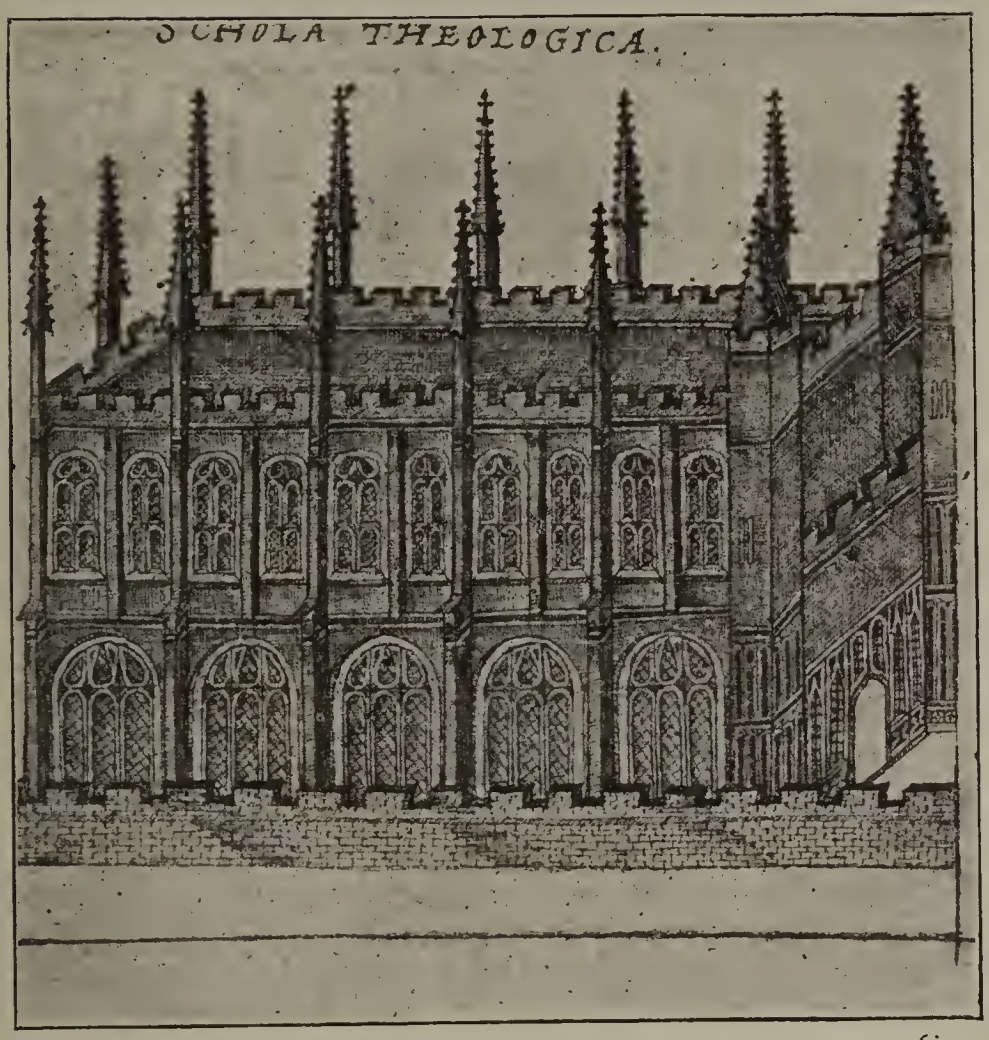

Fig. 27.—Duke Humphrey's Library and the Divinity School in 1566. From John Bereblocke's Drawing in MS. Bodley 15.

The present name of the University Library is derived from Sir Thomas Bodley, who died in 1612, and bequeathed his fortune for its support and increase, having already, during his life-time, taken the deepest personal interest in its welfare.[z]

In the library belonging to Earl Fitzwilliam, at Wentworth Woodhouse, Rotherham, Yorkshire, is the manuscript of an English translation of Palladius, and in the twelfth and thirteenth stanzas there is a notice of Gloucester and his library at Oxford :—

> " At Oxenford thys lord his bookis fell (*i.e.* many)
> Hath eu'y clerk at work . . . . . "

Then follows a list of their studies, and a remark that

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z Maunder's "Treasury of Biog."

it is hard to bring forward anything which to him (*i.e.* to Gloucester) is a novelty :—

> "Ytt Whethamstede and also Pers de Mounte
> Titus and Anthony and y (*i.e.* "I") last ofre."[a]

This MS. is bound in leather, and on the front of it there is stamped or inlaid on black calf, "Jaqueline, Dutchess of Bavaria, Countess of Holland, Zealand and Henault, Wife to Humfrey, Duke of Glocester, 1427," and on the front cover is "an enamel of a woman with good, but somewhat heavy features."

In the British Museum is a manuscript copy of Matthew Paris' "Lesser History."[b] The inscription in the MS. is at present illegible unless chemicals are used, but in the preface to Sir J. Madden's edition of it (p. 39) he gives it as: "Ceste livre est a moy, Homffrey, Duc de Glowcestre." There are apparently five other manuscripts which belonged to Gloucester still in existence.

IV.—HIS CHARACTER AND PORTRAITS.

A.—CHARACTER.

Perhaps, during the course of this paper, some people may have been haunted by two familiar phrases, on neither of which I have yet touched. One of them is that of "Good Duke Humphrey." Where is that noble character? I am afraid he is not known to history, and that I cannot find him for you. The term seems to have originated partly in his interest in letters and his founding of the Bodleian, neither of which seems sufficient to prove his claim to it; and partly to the popularity he enjoyed among the lower orders, due to his active opposition to any proposals of peace with France.

After events showed that the peace policy was the only one capable of being carried out, but it was natural that the English nation at large should dislike owning themselves beaten, and should wish to prolong the struggle, even though it was a perfectly useless one. It is true, too, that from his contemporaries one can find little but praise of Gloucester; and it has been left to the more scientifically critical judgment of modern historians to

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a Article in "Athenæum," 17th Nov., 1888, by H. J. Moule.
b Roy MS. 14, C. vii.

condemn him. To take, first, the opinions of his own day. From his friend Whethamstede we look for unstinted eulogy, nor are we disappointed. Surely, these two lines sum up all we should expect from the chivalrous prince of mediæval romance:—

"Fidior in regno regi duce non fuit isto,
Plusve fide stabilis, aut major amator honoris."

("Was none in the realm more faithful to the king than this same duke, more steadfast in loyalty, to honour more devoted.")

Leland, quoting from "Pakinton's Chronicle," says:[c]

"The Duke was a noble man, a good clerk, and well alway rulid the realme to the king's behofe. The treuth is, that such as then rulid about the king supposing that he would have let the deliverance of Aungeo and Mayne, and so made him away."

But Shakespeare is, no doubt, mainly responsible for the longevity of the title. We find Salisbury addressing his son thus:

"Warwick, my son, the comfort of my age,
Thy deeds, thy plainness, and thy housekeeping
Hath won the greatest favour of the Commons,
Excepting none but good Duke Humphrey." *d*

And, again, Cardinal Beaufort is made to say, with, of course, much spiteful jealousy:

"What though the common people favour him,
Calling him—'Humphrey, the good Duke of Gloster,'
Clapping their hands, and crying with loud voice,
'Jesu maintain your royal excellence!'
With—'God preserve the good Duke Humphrey.'
I fear me, lords for all this flattering gloss,
He will be found a dangerous protector." *e*

As to Gloucester's real character, as judged from actual history, if my short record of his political career may not have put it in a clear light, the opinions of two modern historians are sufficiently convincing. Stubbs is comparing him with his father and grandfather. "Humphrey," he says,[f] "has all the adventurous spirit, the popular manners, the self-seeking and ambition, that marked Henry IV." And, later: "Gloucester has all the popular characteristics (*i.e.*, of Henry V.), without any of his greatness. (Bedford) was thoroughly trusted by Henry V.; (Gloucester) only so far as it was necessary."

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c Leland's Collection II. 494.
d Henry VI., Part II. Act ii. Scene 1.
e Henry VI., Part II. Act i. Scene 1.
f "Const. Hist." III. 97.

And again, "Gloucester was the evil genius of his family; his selfish ambition abroad broke up the Burgundian alliance, his selfish ambition at home broke up the unity of the Lancastrian power. He lived long enough to ruin his nephew, not long enough to show whether he had the will or the power to save him."

J. R. Green's verdict is shorter and still more to the point: "The Duke of Gloucester, whose love of letters was shown in the noble library he collected, was the most selfish and profligate prince of his day."[g]

The other phrase with which I expect you are very familiar is that of "dining with Duke Humphrey."

It seems to have originated thus.[h] In the old St. Paul's Cathedral in London was the tomb of Sir John Beauchamp, brother of that Earl of Warwick who was one of the "Lords Appellant" in the time of Richard II. There seems to have been an erroneous impression that Humphrey was buried in this tomb, and the walk near was consequently called "Duke Humphrey's Walk." This was frequented by loiterers, either dinnerless, or hoping to pick up an invitation to dinner. Hence arose the well-known proverb.

Stow, writing at the end of the 16th century, himself perfectly aware that "the good duke of Gloucester lyeth honourably buried at St. Alban's in Hertfordshire," describes how "some men, of late times, have made a solemn meeting at his tombe (that is, Beauchamp's) upon Saint Andrew's day in the morning, and concluded on a breakfast or dinner, as assuring themselves to be servants, and to hold diversity of offices, under the good Duke Humfrey." Stow's[i] continuator refers to another and similar festival held on May-day, and remarks: "There can be no doubt that this mock solemnity on May-day and the feast of St. Andrew, on pretence of attending a festival in Paul's, on the invitation of a dead nobleman in another place, gave rise to the saying concerning 'dining with Duke Humphrey.' It is still used respecting persons who inquire 'Where shall I dine?' or who have lost, or are afraid of losing, their dinners."

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g "Short History," p. 268.
h Dict. Nat. Biog. and "Guide to St. Alban's Abbey," p. 32.
i Hone's "Every Day Book," 1827.

In Dugdale's "History of St. Paul's Cathedral"[j] (1658), this Chantry Tomb of Sir John Beauchamp is fully described and beautifully portrayed. It stood at the south-west end of the Cathedral, between the nave and the aisle. Dugdale makes no mention of the popular supposition about Gloucester; and Weaver,[k] writing about the same date, refers to his tomb and epitaph in St. Alban's Abbey, showing how perfectly men of learning were aware of the Duke's true resting-place. Moreover, in 1672, we find Elias Ashmole, when giving the history of Sir John Beauchamp, mentioning incidentally that his monument in St. Paul's "vulgarly (but falsely) was called Duke Humfrey's Tomb."

It may be noted that it was during the course of the construction of the new St. Paul's (between 1675 and 1710) that Gloucester's coffin was discovered (in 1703) in our Abbey, so that the idlers of Queen Anne's day had no excuse for recovering either their promenade or their dinners.

B.—PORTRAITS.

Following a description of a man's character should surely be that of his features, and with this end in view I propose giving a list of several known portraits extant of Gloucester, though I do not, of course, pretend it is an exhaustive one.

By the kindness of the Dean, who is allowing it to be placed on the table for inspection later on, I am enabled to show you a photograph of a portrait of Gloucester in a collection at Arras. The photograph was sent to the Dean by Mr. Jackson, of the Bodleian, who makes the following remarks about it:—

"The Arras portrait is not pleasing, but it seems to be accepted as perhaps the only authoritative likeness, and such a view is confirmed by the evidence, whatever it may amount to, of the small and slight portraits of the Duke contained in two Oxford manuscripts, one in the Bodleian, one at Oriel."

Mr. Jackson adds some further notes on the Arras portrait, from a work by M. Bouchot on the collection in which it occurs. M. Bouchot, he says, "deals with MS. No. 266 in the Bibliothèque de la ville d'Arras, in

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j p. 36. *k* Ant. Fun. Monuments.

which the portrait of Duke Humphrey is No. 33, fol. 7. The MS. contains 289 portraits in crayon or sanguine (by which Mr. Kitton thinks is meant a kind of red chalk). The persons represented are chiefly seigneurs of Flanders and of the Court of the Dukes of Burgundy, from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century. There is much to indicate that the portraits were taken from ancient windows and votive pictures in churches. A certain Jacques Le Boucq may perhaps have been the original collector and artist too, though the present form of the Album may be the work rather of Guillaume de White, a monk of St. Berthin." A photographic copy of the Arras portrait (with nine others from the same collection) is also to be found in our National Portrait Gallery (Room I.); and a replica of this can also be inspected later on.

Arras is in the north of France, in the Pas de Calais; and, though there is nothing positive to connect this portrait with the Congress of Ambassadors at Arras, in 1435, for discussing the terms of peace with France, yet perhaps a possible coincidence may be noted in passing.

I am glad also to be able to show you two other portraits, which the St. Albans Archæological Society have kindly had reproduced for the purposes of this paper. These portraits are the two mentioned by Mr. Jackson as existing at Oxford at the present time.

One of them is a photographic reproduction of the portrait in a MS. at Oriel College of a "Commentary on Genesis," by Capgrave, the Austin friar of Lynn, and belongs to the year 1437. The spectacle of the diminutive monk of cherubic aspect presenting his book to the large and severe-looking Duke his patron, both figures contained within the initial letter to the MS., is a curious one to our modern eyes, both as regards mediæval art and portraiture. This portrait is also to be found engraved in Doyle's "Official Baronage."[l]

As regards the other Oxford portrait I have to show, this does not appear so conclusively to bear the stamp of mediævalism, and it has a somewhat complicated history. It is taken from a Bodleian Catalogue of MSS. by Edward Bernard, published in 1697, and when

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l "Doyle's Official Baronage" II. 22.

I wrote to ask the Controller of the Oxford University Press to be so good as to have a photograph taken of it, he replied by sending me a print made from the original copper-plate in his possession, from which the print

Fig. 28.—Portrait of Duke Humphrey from ms. in Library of Oriel College, Oxford.

in the Catalogue mentioned was struck off, the copper-plate being by Michael Burghers, and about the date 1697. On its own merits, therefore, this engraving has

Fig 29.—Engraved Portrait from Bodleian. Catalogue of MSS. 1697.

an interest and value of its own. As regards its subject, it will be noticed that it is taken from a window in

Greenwich Church. That was *old* Greenwich Church, dedicated to St. Alphege, of which H. B. Richardson,[m] writing in 1834, says that "having become ruinous, the roof fell in about four o'clock in the morning of 29th November, 1710. In this church was a portrait on glass of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester." But he does not tell us the fate of this window, which must have perished either at the time of the disaster or during the building of the new church. It will be remembered that Gloucester owned the manor of "Pleasans," or Greenwich, which after his death reverted to the Crown until the days of the Commonwealth.

On my referring to Mr. F. Madan (Sub-Librarian to the Bodleian) for some information respecting this engraving, he was kind enough to supply me with the following facts.

The copperplate is apparently a "composition," of which the details are really separate. A pencil drawing of the figure and helmet occurs in a letter among the Bodleian MSS. (Tanner 24, fol. 107), together with a statement that the window was a south one, near the belfry. The figure was in itself a copy of another drawing or engraving taken by, or for, one of the two Sir Henry St. Georges of the seventeenth century, from the original window.

Again, in another MS.,[n] which was copied by Elias Ashmole from a Hatton MS. belonging to Sir Henry St. George (who died in 1644), occurs a drawing of the arms and crest-on-chapeau, with the following statement:—

"These following Armes of the 3 Estrich feathers stand in the glass windowes of Greenewich church with supporters, and set up by Humf: Duke of Glouc. . . . In another window of the same church are his owne Armes, impaled with his wife's, without any supporters. [His crest was "on a chapeau gules, a lion."[o]] In which window also was his Crest upon a chapew, Helmet, and mantle, supported with the Antelop seiant."

Here it is distinctly stated that Humphrey himself set up one coat of arms on glass in this church (though not the arms represented in the copperplate), and Mr. Madan says he sees "no reason against the

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m "Greenwich, its History, etc."
n Bodleian MS. Ashm., 1121, p. 228.
o "Doyle's Official Baronage."

presumption that the rest was also set up by him." These drawings Michael Burghers had doubtless before him when he engraved the plate for the 1697 catalogue.

The arms impaled with those of Gloucester are those of his second wife, Eleanor Cobham of Sterborough (gules on a chevron or, three estoiles sable).[p] I reserve

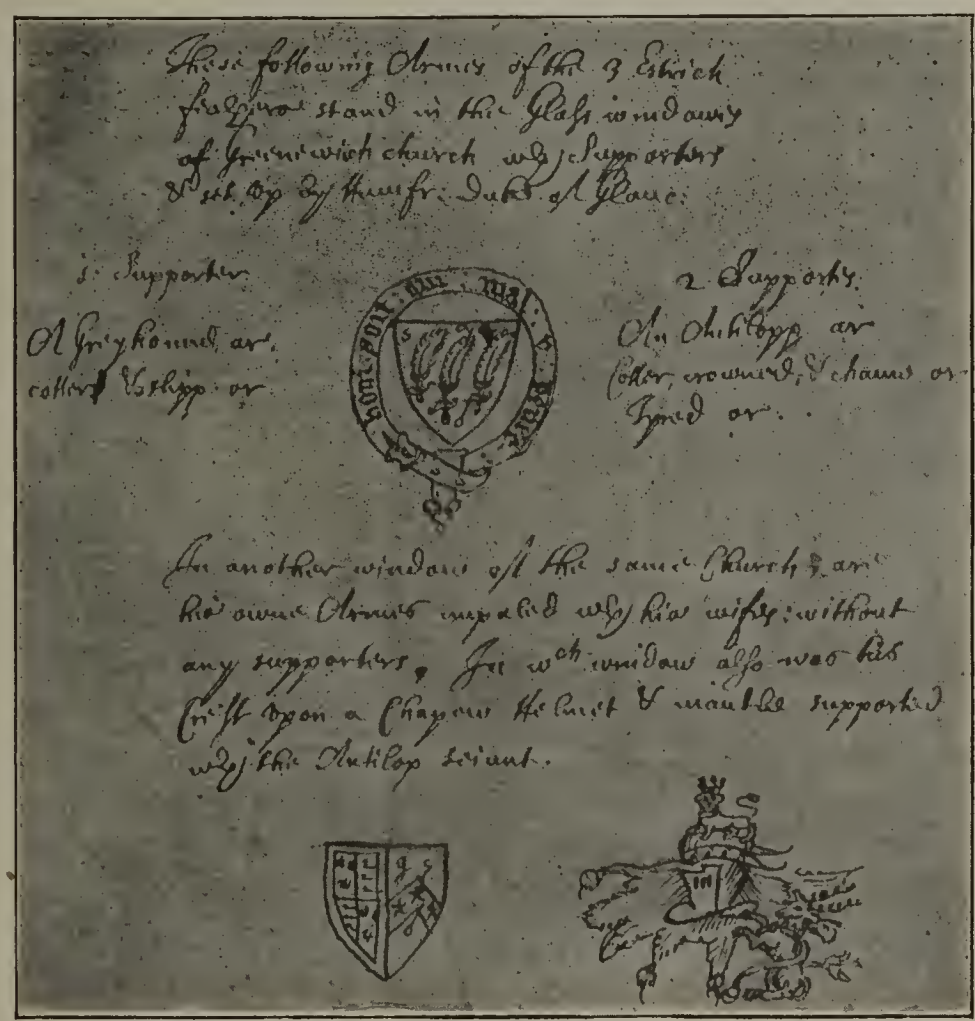

Fig. 30.—Armorial Bearings.
From the Bodleian MS. Ashm., 1121, p. 228.

the subject of Humphrey's own heraldic bearings generally till I come to the description of his Chantry Tomb.

The fourth and last portrait I have to show is peculiarly interesting to us in St. Albans, as it is taken from that MS. in the British Museum which contains the Catalogue of Benefactors and all admitted into full fraternity of the Monastery of St. Alban up to 1463.[q]

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p Burke's "General Armoury." *q* MS. Nero D. 7, p. 154.

Gloucester is portrayed in the illumination from which this photograph is taken, as accompanied by his wife "Alienora," whose admission to the fraternity (to which allusion has already been made) is recorded in this MS. The church which Humphrey bears in his hand may

Fig. 32.—Portraits of Duke Humphrey and Eleanor Cobham. From the St. Albans Book of Benefactors, M.S. Nero D. 7, p. 154; in the British Museum.

represent, Mr. Page thinks, the priory of Pembroke, which he presented to the Abbey, as has already been said.

There are several other portraits which I have either seen or of which I have read descriptions. Two of these occur in paintings belonging to the Duke of Sutherland, and were shown in the "Monarchs of Great Britain and Ireland" Exhibition held at the New Gallery this year (1902). Both of them formerly belonged to Horace Walpole, and were among his

collection of works of art at Strawberry Hill. One of them is mentioned in his own catalogue of Strawberry Hill, whence one is referred for a further description to "Anecdotes of Painting in England,"[r] collected by Mr. George Vertue (a well-known engraver), digested and published by Mr. Horace Walpole. "In my possession is a remarkable piece," Walpole says, and after a description of it as a representation of the marriage of Henry VI. with Margaret of Anjou, he continues, "I imagine it was painted after his death. Behind the King, in a robe of state, stands the Duke of Gloucester, and seems reproving a nobleman whom I take for the Marquis of Suffolk." An engraving of this picture can be seen in the "Anecdotes of Painting." The original was placed over the chimney piece in the library of Strawberry Hill.

Of the other picture exhibited in the New Gallery, Walpole, in his own catalogue,[s] gives this description:—"Four pannels that came out of the Abbey of St. Edmundsbury, and were doors to an altar-piece, . . . on the outside pannels are Henry Beaufort, Cardinal of Winchester, and John Kempe, Archbishop of Canterbury. On one of the insides is Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, praying, and behind him a saint holding the Duke's Cap of Estate in one hand, and a golden chalice in the other. All the men have rude dishevelled hair. . . . The house of Lancaster were great benefactors to the Abbey, two princes of which family, afterwards so memorable for their enmity, are here represented. The portraits of the Archbishop and Duke agree remarkably with those of the same persons in the marriage of Henry VI. in the library, especially the Duke, who has the same bald head and furred mantle. . . . The Duke is painted in a style very superior to that age." This altar-piece was placed in the Chapel at Strawberry Hill.

Yet another portrait of Gloucester is mentioned by Walpole. The picture in which it occurs is also engraved in the "Anecdotes of Painting,"[t] and is thus described by him:—"A curious picture of Henry V. and his family—in the collection of James West, Esq., Secretary of the Treasury. It was an altar-piece at

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r Vol. I. 1762. *s* "Description of Strawberry Hill," p. 81. *t* Vol. I.

Shene." Walpole considers it was probably painted by Henry VII.'s orders, for the chapel in his palace there. Henry V. is represented with his three brothers, Clarence, Bedford and Gloucester, kneeling in a row behind him, all wearing golden coronets; Gloucester appears as quite a youth. Walpole[u] further makes this remarkable statement: "Of that indiscreet but amiable and unfortunate prince, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, I know no memorial," and then proceeds to a vigorous white-washing both of his character and of Eleanor Cobham's. Of the present fate of this picture I have no knowledge.

V. HIS MONUMENT AND VAULT.

The Chantry Tomb of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, is to be found on the south side of the Saint's Chapel in St. Alban's Abbey. It is supposed to have been built by his friend, Abbot Whethamstede, during the Duke's own lifetime. Sandford calls it a "stately arched monument of freestone,"[v] though Mr. Page points out this should be clunch, or Totternhoe stone. It is of Perpendicular construction, and on the cornices on both sides are Humphrey's arms, that is to say[w] the royal arms bordered argent, and supporters, antelopes gorged and chained. These latter are much mutilated, and only one of the antelopes, on the south side, seems intact. These arms are surmounted alternately by helmets mantled, with a cap of maintenance, and by coronets; and they are repeated, though many are missing, in the quatrefoils on the lower part of the tomb.[x] Boutell says he "differenced 'England' with a plain silver bordure, as a mark of cadency"; and these arms appear on his seal of 1426.[xx]

On all parts of the tomb, and also encircling the coronets, is to be found a most curious decoration, consisting of a cup filled with what are apparently

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u "Anecdotes of Painting," Vol. I. p. 32.

v Sandford's "Genealog. Hist.," p. 318.

w "Boutell's Heraldry," p. 185.

x "Guide to St. Alban's Abbey," p. 32-3.

xx "Eng. Heraldry," p. 185; "Doyle's Official Baronage," p. 23.

Fig. 31.—S. Side Duke Humphrey's Tomb, St. Alban's Cathedral.
By Miss M. Helen Green.

leaves of some kind. The whole certainly forms one of Gloucester's badges, and Mr. Page considers the foliage as "probably intended for daisy-flowers."[y]

By the courtesy of Rouge Dragon I have been enabled to view, at the Heralds' College, several folios in which this badge is portrayed. One of these, of about Charles I.'s time, represents the cup with a single upright branch standing in it, and below is this legend: "Humfry, Duke of Gloucester, bare this cup w^t^s a Laurell branch in the respect he bore to Learninge."[z]

In a copy made about 1510[a] from St. George's, Windsor, the cup is given as filled with a quantity of small leaves, on stems which may not impossibly be laurel leaves, but are not at all like the petals in the cup on Gloucester's Tomb. The cup badge occurs also in another folio at the Heralds' College, but this one throws no fresh light on the subject.[b]

The daisy was also the badge of Margaret of Anjou, who was on anything but cordial terms with Gloucester; so it seems improbable he bore it in her honour.

The other badges known to have been used by Gloucester were an "ostrich feather, the quill studded with fleurs de lys,"[c] and also a swan, worn, I imagine, in right of his mother, Mary de Bohun, whose family badge this was;[d] but neither of these appears on his tomb. Eighteenth-century writers had theories of their own on the meaning of the contents of the cup-badge. Gough[e] imagines the whole device to be the rebus of Whethamstede, the architect, and to consist of "wheatears in vases or pedestals," while Sandford[f] fancifully credits the cup with containing "Angels Heads and Wings!" It may be mentioned here that Cussans gives the "livery-colour" of Gloucester as blue, quoting these lines from Shakespeare, Henry VI., Part I., Act i., Scene 3.

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y Guide to St. Alban's Abbey, p. 33. *z* "Miscellania Curiosa," pt. I. p. 105.

a The Garter Stalls, Hen. VII. and VIII., folio 1.

b Vincent's "Knights of the Garter," folio 104.

c Doyle's "Official Baronage," p. 23.

d Cussan's Handbook of Heraldry, pp. 138 and 222.

e Gough's Sepulchral Monuments, Vol. II. pt. ii. p. 146; 1746.

f "Genealog. Hist.," p. 318.

"Draw, men, for all this privileged place;
Blue coats to tawny coats.

. . . . . .

Thee I'll chase hence, thou wolf in sheep's array,
Out, tawny coats!"

The "tawny coats" were worn by Cardinal Beaufort's serving-men. The word tawny is the same as the heraldic term "tenné," a deep orange colour.

Both sides of the tomb, above the cornice, are adorned with niches, but only those on the south side (facing the south aisle) are filled with figures of kings, and even these are mutilated. Sandford[g] draws attention to the foreshortened squatness as peculiar, and considers them ruder in workmanship than the rest of the monument. Among them one, holding a church in his hands, is probably Offa,[h] founder of the Abbey, and the whole number most likely represent the royal benefactors to the Abbey. By the kindness of Miss M. Helen Green, who has made a sepia painting specially for this paper, I am enabled to give an illustration of a section of the south side of the tomb. Owing to difficulties of position and light, Miss Green is anxious that her work should not be considered more than as a sketch made chiefly to reproduce the armorial details. The grille[i] before the tomb on its south side is of older construction, dating from about the time of Edward I., and is said to be unique in England.[j]

The Vault, containing the remains of Gloucester, lies immediately below the monument. It was only discovered in the reign of Queen Anne (1703), when workmen were engaged in making a grave on this spot for Mr. John Gape.

Gough (writing in 1746)[k] says the Duke's remains were found "lying in pickle in a leaden and wooden coffin," but that owing to the irreverent handling of them by inquisitive persons, "only the broken skeleton (the scull without teeth) remains." He also mentions that "at the feet, on the wall, at the east end (*i.e.*, of the vault) is painted a crucifix, the blood of the wounds received in chalices, a hand holding to it a label inscribed

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g "Genealog. Hist.," p. 318.
h "Guide to St. Alban's Abbey," p. 32. *i Ib.* p. 31. *j Ib.* p. 32.
k "Sepulchral Monuments," vol. II., part ii., p. 142.

in capitals, 'Blessed Lord, have mercy on me!'" We are all familiar with the highly coloured picture in the Saint's Chapel representing the coffin as it was when the vault was opened, together with the wall-painting over it. It is probable it was from this picture that Gough describes the wall-painting in the vault, as his account conforms almost entirely with it, but does not tally with the actual painting, as will shortly be seen.

Early this year (1902) the Dean was kind enough to take me down into the vault, as I wished to be able to record its appearance at the present day. The vault is about ten feet by six, and is constructed of large stones. An oblong wooden box contains all that is left of the skeleton; only the skull and seven bones (five large and two small ones) are now to be seen, together with some of the leaden wrappings. The skull has a very brown and polished appearance.

The painting on the east wall of the vault certainly differs from the picture above. The reality is very faint in colouring, and the Dean thinks the outlines, at some time, have been deepened with pencil. The cross and Sacred Figure are distinguishable, as are also the four chalices. The only trace of colouring is a faint brickish red tinge along the Arms and above the four chalices. There is no inscription on the scroll across the top of the cross. The label at the side bears no inscription whatever; there is a trace of something beyond, but much too vague to be distinguished as a hand.

There are many names of visitors scratched on the side of the vault, not a few bearing dates within forty years of its discovery. It is, of course, greatly to be deplored that lack of reverence for the past, and for the sacredness of the dead, should have permitted the disappearance of so many of the Duke's bones in that so-called "Augustan age."

Clutterbuck, whose History of Hertfordshire dates from 1815, *à propos* of the vault, says that it was "opened to the view of the public, and, a trap-door being placed over it, became a mine of wealth to the Parish Clerk for a long series of years; till, at length, the embalming liquor became exhausted by exposure to the air of the atmosphere, and all the bones of the

skeleton were either mouldered into dust or carried away."

This statement, if the bones now existing be Gloucester's at all, is either not strictly accurate, or else throws grave doubts on their authenticity—doubts which I suppose no living person can set at rest.

Clutterbuck[l] gives the following inscription to Gloucester's memory. "High on the wall that closes the South aisle, just before the Shrine, and above it," he says, "are the Duke's arms, surmounted by a coronet."

"Piæ Memoriæ V. Opt.
Sacrum
Serotinum
Hic jacet Humphredus, dux ille Glocestrius olim,
Henrici sexti protector, fraudus ineptæ
Detector, dum ficta notat miracula cœci.
Lumen erat Patriæ; columen venerabile regni.
Pacis amans, musiq: favens melioribus, unde
Gratum opus Oxoniæ, quæ nunc schola sacra refulget.
Invida sed mulier regno, regi, sibi nequam,
Abstulit hunc humili, vix hoc dignata sepulchro
Invidiâ rumpenti tanem, post funera vivet."

By the kindness of Mr. Charles Johnson, who translated this inscription for me, I am able to give you an English version of it:—

"Here lies Humphrey, sometime Duke of Gloucester,
Protector of Henry VI., discoverer of a silly imposture,
In that he proves the blind man's miracle a sham.
The glory of his country, the revered stay of the realm.
A lover of peace, a patron of the nobler Muses,
witness the delight of Oxford, the present glorious
Divinity School. But a wicked woman, who hated the realm,
the King, and herself, destroyed him,
thinking him barely worthy of this humble tomb.
But while hate consumed *her*, he lives after death."

The imposture alluded to in this inscription is the one mentioned by Shakespeare (Henry VI., Part II., Act ii., Scene 1), where a man, who pretends to be lame, and also to have been recently cured at St. Alban's Shrine of blindness from birth, is brought before the king at St. Albans, and unmasked by Gloucester, who beguiles him into an accurate description of certain colours, and summarily disposes of his lameness by setting the beadle on to whip him.

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l "History of Herts," vol. I. p. 73.

I have come across no foundation for this story in contemporary history, though it possibly may be true, as it is also recorded by Sir Thomas More,[m] from whom Shakespeare may have derived it. The[n] second part of "Henry VI." is taken from an older play of 1594 (in which Shakespeare had no hand) in which this story also occurs. Mr. Payne Collier thinks this play most certainly derives it from the Chronicles. This may be so, but Sir Thomas More's own words point to an oral tradition, for in a "Dialogue, fyrst Boke" (chap. xiv.[o] p. 134) he says: "As I remember me I have heard my father tell of a beggar that in King Henry his days the sixth, came with his wife to Saint Albons," and then proceeds with the tale.

The epitaph to Gloucester exists no longer. The wall on which it was placed formerly blocked up the western arch of the south aisle, separating it from the ante-chapel, at the time when the right-of-way passed through the latter. This wall was pulled down in February, 1872,[p] and of course the inscription was destroyed as well. Clutterbuck[q] thinks it was written by John Westerman, Head Master of St. Alban's Grammar School in 1625, who wrote the inscription in Latin verse to a former master (John Thomas Hylocomius) on the monumental slab in the south aisle of the presbytery.[r]

The Dean has been kind enough to lend me a photograph of the wall and inscription (taken while the former was in process of demolition) which can be inspected later on.

Before concluding this paper, it may be interesting to quote some items from a MS. in the British Museum,[s] containing a "Schedule of the Charges of the Monastery of St. Alban's for making the Tomb of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and for perpetual Masses," etc. It is printed in Clutterbuck's History of Hertfordshire, from which my quotations are taken.

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m "City of St. Alban," etc., by C. H. Ashdown, p. 33.

n "Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories, etc.," 1858, p. 30, note 10.

o Works of Sir Thomas More, 1557, p. 134.

p Paper by John Chapple in "Herts Advertiser," Dec. 24, 1881, page 6, col. 2.

q "Hist. of Herts," Index, Vol. I.

r "St. Albans Grammar School," A. E. Gibbs, p. 37.

s Claudius A. 8. fo. 195; Guide to St. Alban's Abbey, p. 90.

The abbot and convent of the said monastery paid "for making the tumbe and place of sepulture of the seid Duke, within the seid Monasteri, above the sume of £cccc xxx iiii, vis, viiid."

Another entry is that "two monks, prests, daily saying messe at the autur of sepulture of the said prince, were to have each by the day 6d.; sum by the whole year £xviii vs."

The day of Gloucester's death, as it came round, was to be kept with due solemnity at the Chantry Tomb, and for this more expenditure is required. "The Abbot, prior, forty monks, priests, eight monks not priests, two anchoresses at St. Peter's Church and another at St. Michael's" were allotted a certain sum "yearly the day of anniversary of said prince."

There was also to be a distribution to "pore people," and for "xiii pore men bearing torches saide day about the said sepulture."

Our imaginations can possibly fill up the outlines of the picture here presented; there is little likelihood of our over-painting the magnificence with which the community of St. Alban kept green the memory of their patron. It would certainly have surprised Whethamstede could he have foreseen that the "perpetual masses" with which he sought to commemorate his friend would last for a period little more than ninety years in duration.

Salisbury Hall.

BY CHARLES HENRY ASHDOWN.

[*Paper read at an Excursion to Salisbury Hall, in July, 1902.*]

Salisbury Hall lies to the south-east of London Colney, adjacent to the main road from St. Albans to London *via* Barnet. It is a building of mediæval origin, surrounded by a moat which still exists, and has been known at various times as "Salsburies," "Salesbury," "Salisbury," and "Shenley Hall." The oldest parts of the present house date from the time of Henry VIII., having been erected by Sir John Cutts, Treasurer of England, who married Margaret, daughter of Sir John Brockett, lord of the manor of Symon's Hide and granddaughter of Sir Robert Lytton, of

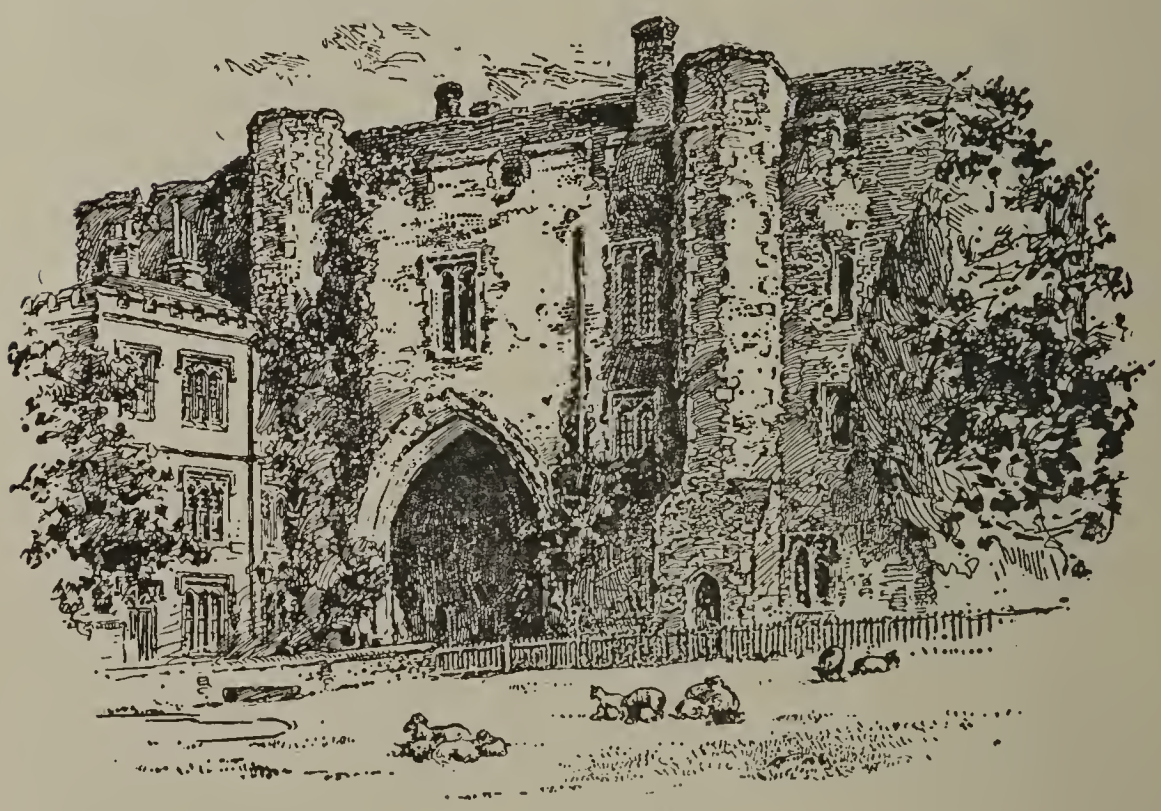
Knebworth. From *c.* 1616 to 1653 the Hall was occupied by Richard Cole, armiger, who is buried, together with Dorothy his wife, in Shenley Church. After the battle of Worcester, in 1651, the fugitive Prince Charles found refuge in the Hall, according to legend, subsequently escaping to Hampshire and Sussex. William Cole succeeded as the tenant until 1668, when it was sold to a Mr. Hoare, who let the Hall to Sir Jeremy Snow, Kt. and Bart., by whom it was occupied until 1702. The latter added very largely to the mansion in 1690, and it is owing to him that it presents a characteristic Stuart appearance.

King Charles II. often visited Sir Jeremy, and, as boon companion, passed considerable time with him. The story is related that, having partaken rather too freely, the old Royalist slapped the King upon the back and invited him to have another bottle. The surprised but good-natured monarch assented, with the trite remark, "A beggar in his cups is as good as a king." Nell Gwynne was a constant visitor. After Sir Jeremy Snow's time, the Snell family occupied the Hall for many years, the last representative leaving it in 1819. Much was then demolished, the Crown Chamber and some parlours disappearing among other portions, and the building became a superior farm-house. Mr. Joseph Ball, Mr. James Woods, and Mr. William Davenport, have successively occupied the Hall, and it is now in the possession of Mr. Herbert Smith, through whose kindness we have the pleasure of viewing it. In 1884 it was restored as we now see it—the Hall, Great Parlour, Dining Room, Drawing Room, with its Ante-room, and a few other apartments, being the same as when Sir Jeremy Snow lived at the Hall. The walls are of considerable thickness, and reputed to be honeycombed with secret passages. One nook in an upstairs passage, now a cupboard, is stated to have been the hiding-place of Charles, while a hidden chamber in one small bedroom leads up to a so-called priest's hole in the roof. In the entrance-hall are the famous medallions from Sopwell Nunnery, brought hither when that building became uninhabited in the time of Charles II. They have been variously ascribed to Thomas Wolvey, sculptor, who died in 1430,

and was buried in St. Michael's Church, and also to the sculptors of the high altar screen. Casts of these medallions are preserved in Mr. H. Hine's house in Holywell Hill, St. Albans. There were ten originally at Salisbury Hall, representing respectively Julius Cæsar, Augustus, Galba, Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, Trajan, Marcus Aurelius, and Constantine, with Cleopatra, Faustina, and Zenobia engraved on one; but the rebuilding has reduced the number to seven and a-half, half of one being embedded in a wall.

The Great Gateway of St. Alban's Monastery.

BY CHARLES HENRY ASHDOWN.



This interesting building is the only monastic structure in St. Albans (the Abbey Church excepted), which, having escaped destruction at the Reformation, has been preserved to us almost in its entirety.

Great gateways were erected in the mediæval period over the principal entrances to monastic establishments, in order to serve, primarily, as defensive works in those troublous times; hence, we find this building surmounted by a battlemented parapet, and originally provided with

four projecting loopholed towers, of which two remain, as flanking guards to the large archway, while the latter is provided with holes in the ribs of its vaulted ceiling, to enable missiles to be cast down upon an enemy. These, however, may be only part of the style of ornamentation, or imitations of practical apertures existing in the previous Gateway, inasmuch as Mr. John Harris informs me that some carved ornamental bosses which fell from these holes were preserved in the Slype half a century ago, and one aperture is even now partly filled with decayed ornamented stone. They also served as prisons for refractory monks, and barracks for the armed feudal servitors of the monastery when on duty. So far as I am aware, no particulars are extant concerning the Saxon or Norman Great Gateway of St. Alban's Monastery; the earliest reference in the "Gesta" occurs during the abbacy of John de Hertford, 1235-1260, of which the following is a translation:—"Likewise the Abbot we have mentioned built a fine stone house of great length, and covered it with tiles, and having three fireplaces on the opposite side of [or opposite to] the great gateway, by the aspect and neighbourhood of which the whole foundation [or monastery] is beautified." ("Gesta" I., 314.)

Abbot Richard de Wallingford, 1326-1335, when visiting King Edward III. at Northampton, rode unexpectedly to St. Albans, and presented himself at the Great Gateway, where the Prior and monks received him with a solemn peal of bells. ("Gesta" II., 193.)

About the year 1333 we have the following important reference:—"There was built also at that time by his [Abbot Wallingford's (1326-1335)] orders, an Almonry, constructed by Richard Heterset, the Almoner, from its foundations, with a hall, a chapel, chambers, a kitchen, a cellar, and the necessary buildings for the scholars and their masters. This now is [being] pulled down on account of the erection of the new gateway. For it was situated on the spot where we now see the great gateway standing." ("Gesta" II., 282.)

Abbot Richard Wallingford had the right of imprisoning excommunicated persons, granted to him

by the King ("Gesta" II., 283), and these would, of necessity, be incarcerated in the Great Gateway.

Under Abbot Michæl de Mentmore, 1335 to 1349, we have the following reference:—"William de Somerton, Prior of Bynham, deserted his Priory. He came as a suppliant to the great gateway of the Monastery, and was received in the Almonry; he did penance, and was finally absolved." ("Gesta" II., 303.) Further we read—

"Abbot Michæl acquired a large portion of the stone quarry near Egelmunt (?), where stone might be quarried for the works of the present Monastery." ("Gesta" II., 361.)

Abbot Thomas de la Mare (1349-1396) ordered that the custody of the gaol for felons, fugitives, and outlaws should still remain with the Bursar, but that their chattels should now go to the cellarer. ("Gesta" II., 411.)

In 1355 a jury from divers hundreds presented to the King, at the town of St. Albans, a complaint of the escape of divers prisoners from the Abbot's gaol. (Term. St. Michaelis, 28 Ed. III., p. 49.)

We now approach the period which is of peculiar interest, namely, the transition from the older gateway to the present structure. The first extract relates to the great storm on January 15th, 1362:—"Because we are given to understand that on account of an extraordinary gale of wind which lately occurred in divers parts of our realm, by which such a number [of buildings] were cast to the ground, and many were unroofed . . ." ("Gesta III., 46.) And the next the precise statement that: "He [*i.e.*, Abbot Thomas de la Mare, 1349-1396] rebuilt, from the foundations, the great gate, which had been thrown down by a severe gale of wind, with chambers, dungeons, and vaults, and gave it a very strong covering [roof] of lead." ("Gesta" III., 387.)

Two important entries occur in the "Gesta" relating to the gateway under the records of the Abbey of Abbot John Moote (1396-1401). "He also built a room, which is called the Seneschal's Room, between the Almonry and the gate which leads to the Stables." ("Gesta" III., 441.) "He, appointed Abbot, took down the

cresting of the Great Gate of the Monastery, which was of Eglemounde stone, fragile and damaged. He put up a cresting of hard Kent stone, which is sufficiently lasting. Forty pounds, and over, besides transport expenses, were spent on this work." ("Gesta" III., 447, and Cotton MSS., Nero D. 7, fol. 24.)

The following references to the Great Gateway soon after its reconstruction are of interest:—

". . . The restoration of the ancient devotion and honours to the images of SS. Lawrence and Grumbald, which had been cast out of the Chapel of the old Almonry during the building of the Great Gate and the new Infirmary of the Monastery . . ." (An Ordinance of Abbot John of Wheathampstead, 1428.)

" . . . Since, therefore, the chapel of S. Lawrence, the chief almoner of God, formerly in the ancient Almonry of our Monastery, has been, in the erection on that spot of the Great Gate, utterly destroyed . . ." (Amundesham Annales, Vol. I., Appendix, p. 420-3.)

The preceding references to the Great Gateway, although meagre, are sufficiently comprehensive to allow of the assignment of a definite date for the present building, and to do away with the uncertainty which has hitherto existed upon that point. Newcome states that it was built during the reign of Richard II. 1377-1399); subsequent writers have asserted that the building dates from the latter years of Abbot de la Mare, *i.e.*, about 1396, and one even affirms it to have been 1399, after the decease of the Abbot. The solution of this difficulty is of the utmost importance, inasmuch as it connects the Gateway with the great rebellion of 1381, or does not do so. The previous gateway had been demolished, as we have seen, by a high wind; and the terrific gale which raged in the early part of the year 1361-2 may, with every show of probability, have caused the mischief. Ancient chroniclers agree in their descriptions of the devastation caused by this fearful visitation, which commenced about vespers on 15th January, St. Maur's Day, A.D. 1361-2. Adam Muremuth, Dean of St. Paul's, 1320-1380, tells us that it demolished "high houses, lofty buildings, towers, belfries, trees, and also other massive

and solid edifices," and records a Latin verse (here translated):—

> "It was the year 1362 when, on thy day,
> O Maurus, violent was the passage of the gale."

Also—

> "Lo! this year Maurus doth breathe,
> thundering throughout the world."

The annals of Bermondsey state that the gale was most destructive in the eastern parts of England. Stowe says that it lasted five days, and from Blomfield's "History of Norfolk" we learn that it prostrated the spire of Norwich Cathedral. To show that Hertfordshire was visited by the tempest, it may be mentioned that the spire of Ashwell Church was blown down in the same gale, whilst strong evidence that St. Albans suffered severely is furnished by the significant proclamation issued in the town the same year that tilers should not advance their wages, and that tiles be of the same price as they were during the corresponding time of the previous year.

That no detailed description of the re-erection of the Gateway is extant may perhaps be accounted for by the probability of its being contemporary with, or directly following upon, the building of the fortifying wall round the Monastery under the charter of Edward III., 1359. This stone wall, which was crenellated for the discharge of arrows and other missiles, passed along the southern boundary of the monastic enclosures, parallel with and not far from the river, then turned up the western side of Holywell Hill, approximately on a line with the present rear garden walls; from near the upper part of Holywell Hill to Romeland it practically appears to have bisected the gardens of the present houses. At Romeland, diverging southwards, it followed the line of the front walls of the dwellings now standing on the bank, and eventually joined the west front of the Abbey at its northern tower. From the southern buttress of the main entrance in the west front the wall extended to the Great Gateway, where its junction at a point a little removed from the north-east corner of the eastern wall may still be seen. It is hardly to be conceived that so great an undertaking as this wall would be finished in the short interval of time between the granting of the

Charter and the great gale, so there is every reason to think that they were portions of the same work, and contemporaneous.

The urgent necessity for such a building as the Great Gate, having the dual capacity of a prison and a fortress, would compel its speedy re-erection; I therefore assign the date of the commencement of the building at 1362, and its probable completion—remembering that there is no elaborate stone-work in its construction—*circa* 1365, reign of King Edward III.

A singular confirmation of this supposition that the Gateway and the wall were built approximately at the same time occurred a few years ago. Some excavations, undertaken by Mr. W. Page, between the Gateway and the west front of the Abbey, reached the foundations of the great boundary wall. It was of beautiful workmanship and well preserved, and possessed a ground course of stone precisely similar to that which runs round the Great Gateway. I removed one of the stones, and found the measurements of the bevels, etc., exactly corresponded, the stone being Kentish rag in both cases. This stone is now lying, with others, to the north of the west front of the Abbey Church.

We are told that the new Great Gateway was erected "from its foundations," "and wholly or partly upon the site of the old Almonry, the location of the previous building having been more to the east. This assertion must, however, be somewhat modified, inasmuch as the building contains a large portion of Early English work, which, of course, could not be in existence if the previous Gateway had been wholly demolished That this portion is a part of a more ancient building is unquestionable; in appearance it resembles Abbot Trumpington's work. Probably when the Almonry was built in 1333, this avenue, or vaulted chamber, was contiguous to it; and when, in 1362, the Great Gateway was built, not upon its former site, as we have seen, but more to the westward, undoubtedly the vaulted chamber was incorporated in the new building. In the large room above the archway are six carved heads, or brackets, supporting trusses, which, in turn, partly bear the weight of the ceiling-beams. Five of the heads are

of ecclesiastics or of angels, but the sixth represents a knight in a pointed bascinet, banded camail, roundels upon the shoulders, and an indication of what appears to be a surcoat. This points unquestionably to the period 1325 to 1360, as the roundels disappeared after that date, and the camail covered the part of the surcoat—then called a jupon—which is shown in the bracket. Remembering the mediæval tendency to represent contemporary costume, this may be taken to strengthen the supposition that the building was re-erected about 1360. The helmet of 1396—the hitherto-supposed date of the Gateway—differed very considerably from that of 1360 and that shown in the bracket. One of the best confirmations of the theory that the Gateway was erected *c.* 1362-65 is that found in the reference to the rebuilding of the parapet by Abbot John Moote, for if the building only dated from the latter days of De la Mare it would have been impossible for the stone to have decayed in so short a time, but in forty years it might possibly have done so.

Mr. Worthington G. Smith is of opinion that the "Egelmunt," or "Eglemountle," stone was Totternhoe stone from the base of Totternhoe Beacon, the friability of which, when exposed to the weather, is well known. He states that Ægeles-birg is mentioned in the A.S. Chronicle, A.D. 571, as being near Dunstable, and locates it as Edles-borough, near Totternhoe Beacon. If Ægeles-birg be Edlesborough, then the Beacon may well be "Egelmunt," or "Eglemountle," or ("Gesta" III. 386) "Eglemounde" and "Eglemunde."

From the preceding evidence it may, with every reason, be inferred that the date *c.* 1365 is approximately correct for the completion of the building, and, if so, the present Gateway is connected with the Peasant Revolt of 1381, and gains additional historical interest by that association. I do not purpose to give a detailed account of the connection of St. Albans and the Monastery with that great intestinal revolution, inasmuch as it has been so ably dealt with recently by one of our former honorary secretaries, Mrs. M. C. Knight, in the *Transactions* for 1899 and 1900.* It

* Transactions, Vol. I., New Series, pp. 262-276.

will be seen from that account that the rioters made an assault upon the Gateway, and eventually forced their way into the cloisters; the insurgent leaders were afterwards incarcerated in the dungeons, and led forth to execution from confinement there. Subsequently, the commons of the county assembled in the great courtyard of the Monastery, to which the Great Gateway gave access, and swore an oath of loyalty to King Richard II. in person.

The Great Gateway is only mentioned occasionally by historians between the period of the events just narrated and the Dissolution. The judicial sway of the Abbots appears to have been a kind of palatine jurisdiction, such as is still, or was until recently, retained in part by the Sees of Durham and Ely. The Abbots had full power of life and death, and authority to try even the higher kind of offences, like treason; it is questionable, however, if the enormous fines which were usually inflicted in the most important cases went to swell the income of the community; these were probably handed over to the State, and only the minor fines and fees appropriated to the monastic revenues. The lower portions of the building appear to have been used for a prison up to the Reformation, the upper parts being used for various purposes. In 1480, the unknown Schoolmaster of St. Albans Grammar School, the "John Insomuch" of Chauncy, issued his first work, his press being the third printing press set up in England. The assertion current in St. Albans that the second press originated here must be accepted with reserve, for a book exists in the British Museum which was printed at Oxford, and bears the date 1468. Typographists assert, that this date is evidently an error for 1478; but, personally, I see no reason why it should not equally be 1488, and, if so, St. Albans may once more be reinstated in the proud position of having set up the second printing press in England. Tradition asserts that the unknown schoolmaster-printer set up his machine and worked his cumbrous types in the upper portion of the Great Gateway, and assigns the room to the east of the large room over the archway as being the scene of his labours. Mr. John Harris has suggested the identity of the unknown with John Marchell, a

master of the Grammar School, who died in 1501, an opinion also subsequently expressed by Mr. W. Page.

In the twenty-fourth year of King Henry VIII. an Act was passed which restricted the judicial authority of the clergy and made the sessions the only criminal court for the district, the justices being appointed by the King. This first blow to the authority of the Abbots was soon after followed by the dissolution of the Monastery in 1539, whereby it ceased altogether.

The Gateway was saved from destruction when the Monastery was demolished by Sir Richard Lee, for the purpose of serving as a gaol for the borough and Liberty; the charter of King Edward VI., dated 12th May, 1553, gives the right to the Liberty magistrates to have their gaol in the borough, and to hold their sessions as before. "And the place where the said sessions had been ever held, and continued to be held, was the great room over the gateway; and here also sat the steward and convened his court of assize and general commission of oyez and terminer."

The office of chief steward was created by Charles I. Clutterbuck suggests that the steward here mentioned represented a continuation, without authority, of the office of abbot's steward which existed before the dissolution of the Monastery. The stewards, who held their courts in the room where we are assembled during the hundred years following the grant, were Sir Nicholas Bacon, the Lord Keeper; William Cecil, the great Lord Burghley; Sir Thomas Yerton, afterwards Viscount Brockley and Lord High Chancellor; and Sir Francis Bacon, Baron Verulam and Viscount St. Albans.

Three years after the Charter was granted, viz., on August 13th, 1556, the Marian Survey of St. Albans is dated. The Great Gateway then consisted of the present building, the Almonry to the west of it, and the Prior of Tynemouth's lodging, which Mr. Page is inclined to think formed a part of the Great Gateway.* In 1634, Benjamin Hare's map shows the great courtyard still intact; on the east being a wall; to the south, a row of buildings; west, the King's Stables; north, the Great Gateway, flanked on either side by a tall embattled wall. Fifteen years later, in 1649, another

* Transactions 1893-4, pp. 8-24.

survey of the Abbey precincts occurred, and the Great Gateway is described as being "built of stone and covered with lead, having over it the gaol and chambers belonging thereto, in the possession of Colonel Coxe, and having a stable on the east side of the said gate." A note to this survey intimates that the lower part of the Great Portal, with a great chamber now divided into three, was, by letters patent, dated 28th of January, 15th James I. (1619), granted to the gaoler of the Liberty of St. Albans for keeping his prisoners, as a common gaol. The room over the archway was used for all session business until the year 1651, when the justices purchased it, together with the whole of the upper portion of the building, and converted it into a House of Correction. Up to this period only the lower part had belonged to the Liberty. The justices who made the purchase were Sir John Wittewronge of Harden, or Harpenden; William Leman of Northaw; Henry Ewer of Watford, John King (afterwards knighted) of St. Albans; Alban Coxe of Beaumonts, and John Marsh of Shenley. They acquired it from Godfrey Ellis and Griffantius Phillips of Glo'ster. The sessions were from that time held in the Moot Hall.

In 1651, the entire premises appear to have consisted of the Great Gateway, one building, a stable adjoining it on the west side, and a small garden. The office of gaoler or porter was undertakan by a man named Sturgeon; in 1695, a William Morris was appointed, and in 1702, letters patent were granted to Ralph Kentish "to hold, exercise, and enjoy during his natural life, together with the ancient fee or salary of £11 1s. 4d. per annum, payable as formerly by the receiver-general of the county of Hertford." A room for the gaoler's lodging in the building was provided, and Newcome, writing in 1795, states that "the patent hath been renewed at divers times," and "William Kentish, by patent dated June 20th, 1787, is the present gaoler and porter of the great gate so appointed." An old print, by G. Newton, shows the building in the year 1787, with two structures, erected on either side of the archway on the south, the windows being simply plain squares or oblongs, and the chimneys as at present. The roof, however, was flat. Two years

later, in 1789, the old flat, lead roof was removed, and the present high pitched and tiled roof substituted. In 1798, a picture by B. Green shows the building with plain windows, those in the present Armoury being merely loopholes; while another engraving, dated 1816, represents the road through the building as a country lane with old palisades on either side, and brambles and nettles growing freely, the mediæval doors being still in position. These are now preserved in the north Presbytery Aisle of the Abbey Church.

In the year 1815, the Liberty gaol consisted of that part of the building nearest the church, the gaoler being appointed by the Lord-Lieutenant of the county. There was a spacious courtyard for the use of the prisoners, whose daily allowance of food amounted to a pound and a-half of bread for each person. No firing was allowed in winter, and the inmates endeavoured to alleviate their pitiful condition by begging from passers-by. Their method of collection was generally by means of an old shoe attached to a string, which was lowered from one of the upper windows; any money collected in this extraordinary manner was invariably spent in the purchase of firewood. During the French war under Napoleon Buonaparte, some prisoners-of-war were incarcerated within the building, and it is stated that one of them effected his escape by a desperate and perilous leap from one of the windows of the room over the great archway. The remaining part of the building on the west side of the road was called the House of Correction, to which vagrants were committed until they could be forwarded to their respective parishes. The gaoler was appointed by the Corporation, who had a few years before effected the purchase of some of the adjoining land for the benefit of those offenders who were sentenced to hard labour. In 1856, the windows were partly or wholly renewed in many parts of the building, but some of the original ones still remain.

In 1868, the Monastery Gateway proved to be too small for accommodating the number of prisoners, and a new gaol was accordingly erected near the Midland Railway Station. The old building was then purchased by the Governors of the Grammar School for £1,000, and the school transferred from the Lady Chapel of the Abbey to its present quarters in 1871.

The Great Gateway is of unusually large dimensions. The ground plan is an oblong divided into two portions by a public road through the centre. In the walls, which are exceedingly thick and strong, of flint and lime-mortar, may be found Roman tiles and irregular blocks of stone, as well as the predominating flint. The windows are Perpendicular, and generally of modern construction, but only a few of the original ones remain. There is an entrance arch on the south and a smaller one on the north with a postern; the roof of the archway is groined in stone, and is considered a good specimen of fourteenth-century work. On the ground-floor are several apartments with stone walls and groined ceilings, presenting many points of interest. Buckler describes them as "four avenues—two on either side of the archway incorporated with the present edifice; one of those on the west side is of the age of the thirteenth century and extremely elegant."

Below the ground floor are the dungeons, now difficult of access; one of them on the east side of the archway is of considerable size, occupying part of one of the so-called avenues, and extending vertically to the second floor of the building, where four rooms are found similar to those below. Above the archway is the large room in which the sessions were formerly held, and this is flanked by two rooms of almost similar dimensions on either side. The ceilings are supported by massive oaken beams resting upon stone corbels, carved into heads and other devices; as the brackets are generally placed without regard to symmetry of design, it is probable that some of them formed a part of the earlier building, and are therefore specially interesting on that account. Some ancient fireplaces of peculiar design still exist; one of these bears a crude representation of the royal arms, the initials "C.R." for "Carolus Rex," and is executed in stone and plaster dating from the time of the first Charles. In bringing to a conclusion this account of one of the most interesting historical buildings to be found in St. Albans, a considerable degree of pleasure is experienced at the thought that this monastic relic will, in all probability, be preserved to us for many years to come as the home of the ancient Grammar School, and thus not only

perpetuate its intimate connection with the greatest conventual fraternity that ever flourished upon English soil, but the vicissitudes it suffered in the troubled times of the great Peasant Revolt.

[In the compilation of this paper, I wish to express my indebtedness to some unpublished MSS. of the late Rev. Henry Fowler; to Mr. Jno. Harris, C.E., for revision and correction of proofs; to Mr. W. H. Nicholson, for translations and researches in the "Gesta," etc.; to Mr. Worthington Smith, for information respecting Totternhoe stone; and, for the Plans of the Great Gateway, to Mr. Percival C. Blow, A.R.I.B.A., who spent much time in ascertaining and recording the dimensions of the building.]

St. Albans.

The Great Gateway of the Monastery,

now part of St. Albans School.

Ground Plan.

A. *Armoury.* The ceiling is groined in stone and plastered; light ribs spring from half-pillars in the walls. Modern wood floor. One high step up to each of the embrasures, and also to a small door at "a." No door between **A** and **B**. The doorway has been cut subsequently to the erection of the building.

B. *Armoury.* Vaulted as **A**. High step to embrasure. Low doorway at "b" to public road through archway. Wood floor, modern. Traditional dungeon beneath floor. Pillars supporting groining ribs, "e." At "o" are indications of a doorway leading to **B**.

C. *Dungeon* (reputed), 19 feet deep, inaccessible except by ladder or rope. Vaulted over with 3 courses of modern brickwork which has fallen through in places; this probably supported a floor at some time at a higher level than the floor in **A**. At "c" a small aperture to "C" affords light. The wall at "d" is of modern brickwork filling up a gothic arch. The walls of the dungeon below the floor level are chiefly of rough flint work. There is a deep accumulation of flints, mortar, and rubbish on the floor.

D. *Turret* to First Floor and Leads. Probably continued downwards originally to dungeon under **B**.

X. and **XX.**, positions of the two demolished northern turrets. The foundation of **X** were exposed in 1870. Comparatively modern brickwork, almost from the ground to the embattlements, show the former positions.

E. *Furnace Room*, of similar architecture to **A** and **B**.

H. *Small Spiral Stairway* to First Floor only.

F. *Avenue of Early English Architecture*, possibly part of the Prior of Tynemouth's lodging. The ceiling is groined, with massive ribs, springing from corbels. At "m" are small apertures piercing the walls, and at "n" a cupboard, formerly a gothic doorway leading to **E**. "o" is probably an entrance for modern requirements.

G. *Turret* leading to First and Second Floors and to leads.

First Floor Plan.

I, J. *Class Rooms* with no special features, served by the Turret **L** ascending from **D** (Ground Plan). Wooden partitions at "f."

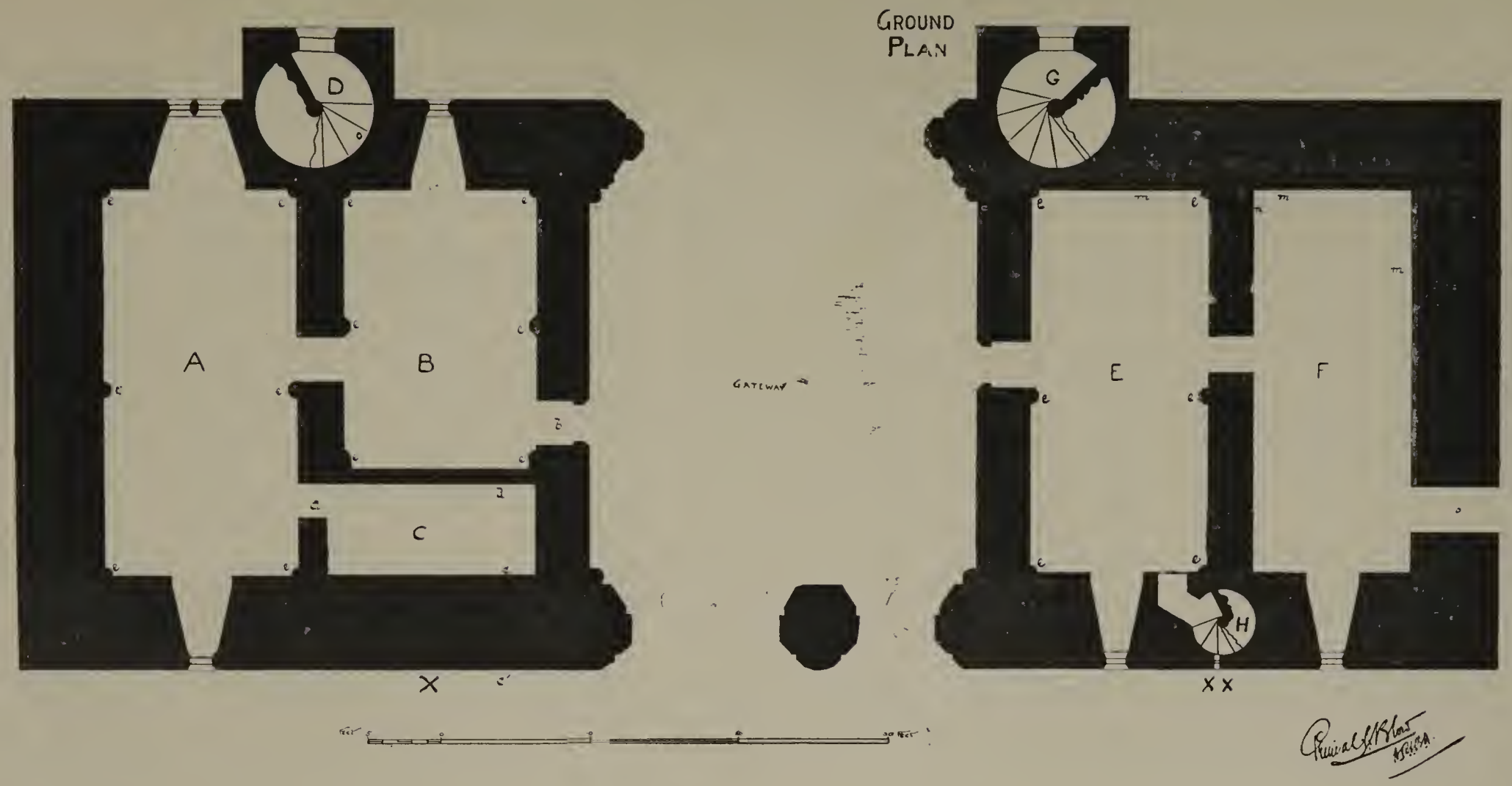
K. *Small Ante-Room.*

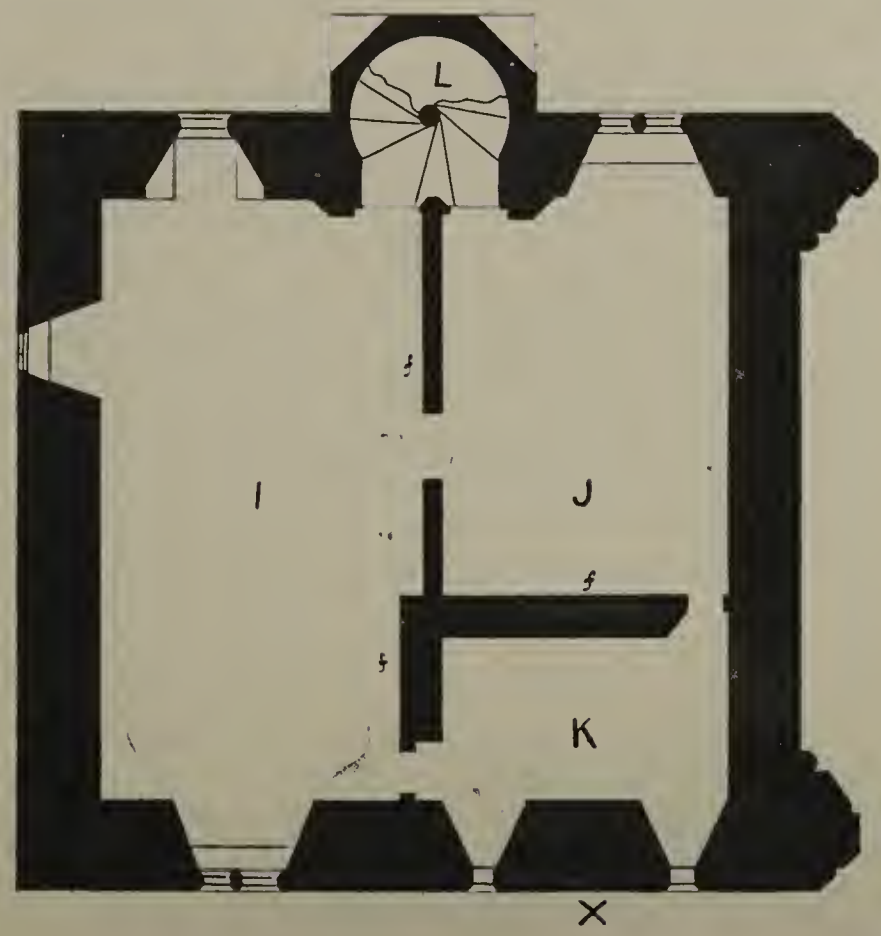
M, N, O. *Rooms* used for domestic purposes, served by the spiral staircase **P** ascending from **G**.

Q. *Spiral Stairway* ascending from **H** (Ground Plan).

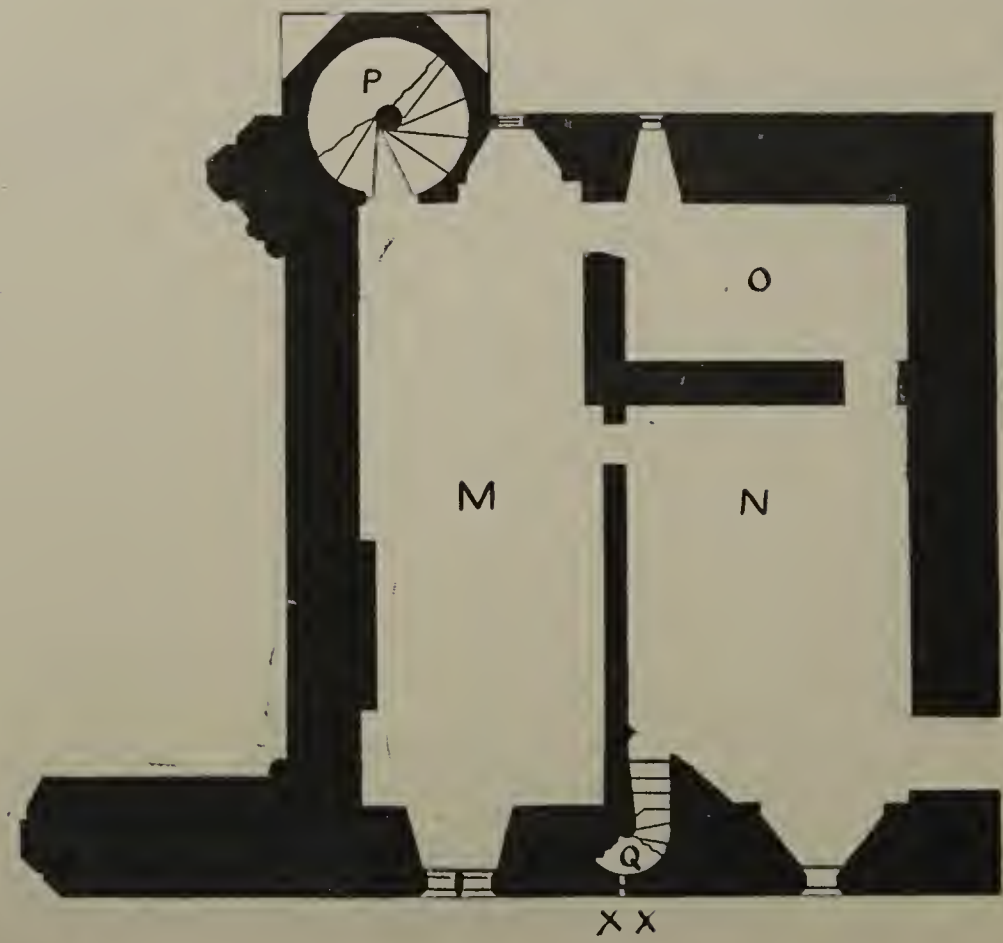
Second Floor Plan.

R. *Class Rooms*, divided by a recently-erected partition at "g," "h," fireplace; "j," ditto, erected *temp.* Charles I. with plaster representation of the Royal Arms above and initials **N V.** At "k" is a blocked-up entrance in brickwork to **U**, a spiral ascending from **L** and continuing to the leads. The

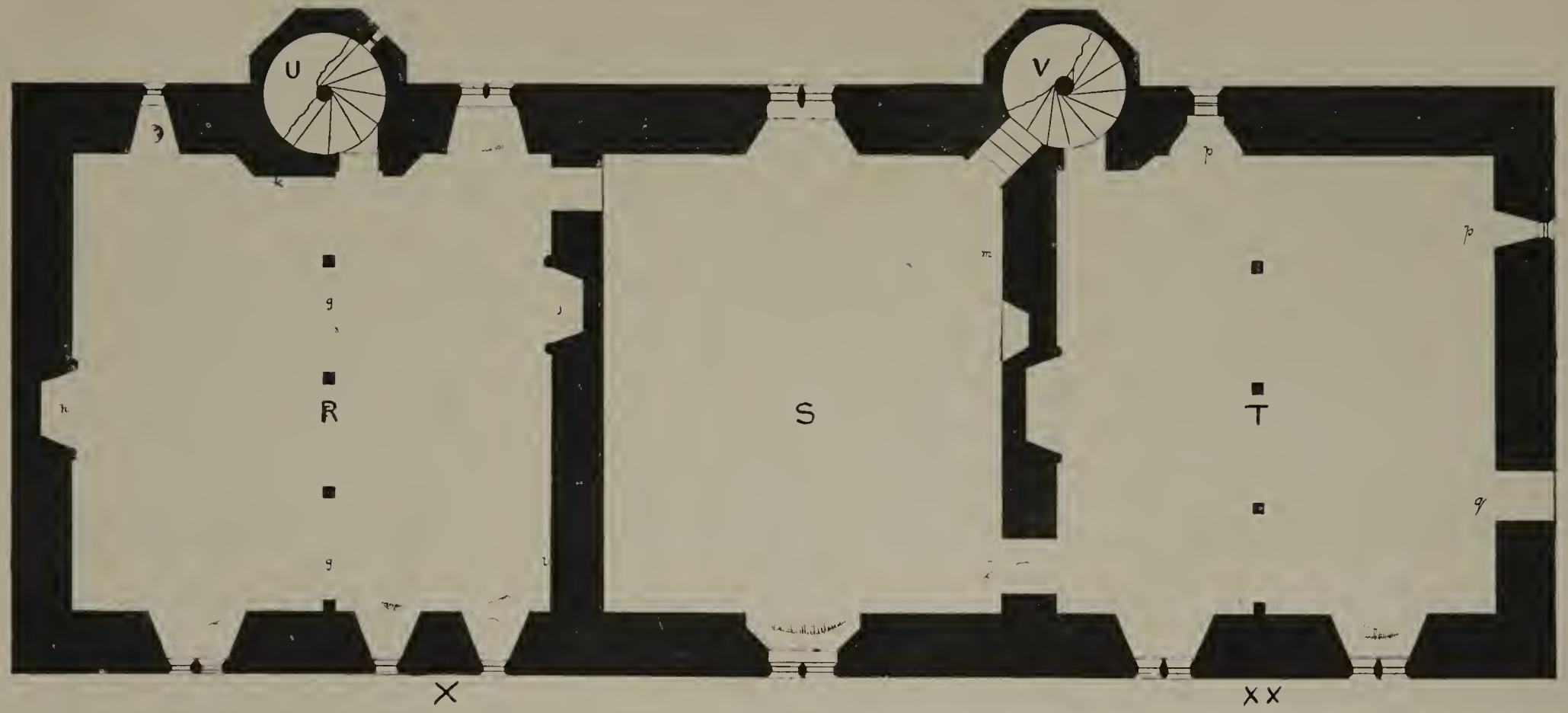

GROUND PLAN
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H
GATEWAY
X
XX



FIRST FLOOR PLAN



SECOND FLOOR PLAN



ceiling is supported by oak beams resting centrally on four perpendicular posts, and sustained at the ends by trusses springing from carved corbels. A deep recess at "l" used for a cupboard. In **R** the third (or second) printing-press in England is reputed to have been set up, in 1480.

S. *Class Room* over the archway, used for the Sessions until 1651, and subsequently, with **R** and **T**, and the chambers in the roof, as a House of Correction. The ceiling is similar to that in **R** and **T**, but no central supports exist. The spiral stairway **V** ascends from **P** and continues upwards to the leads. Fireplace at "m."

T. *Gymnasium.* Similar in every respect to **R**, served by the stairway at **V** Small embrasures at "p." Modern doorway at "q."

Roof.

The three rooms in the roof are only used as storerooms, the flooring being more or less unsafe. The strong bolts and locks upon the doors show that they were used for the incarceration of prisoners after 1789, when the high-pitched roof was constructed.

St. Alban's and Hertfordshire Architectural and Archæological Society.

FOUNDED A.D. 1845.

A List of Papers read before the Society from its foundation, compiled by
H. R. WILTON HALL.

The following list of all the Papers read before the Society during the sixty years of its existence has been drawn up, and divided into two parts, viz. :—

I. RELATING TO ST. ALBAN'S AND THE COUNTY.
II. GENERAL.

Only a few of the earlier Papers were printed by the Society, and of two of these, namely Mr. Grove Lowe's "Roman Theatre at Verulam," and on Canon Gee's "The Two Langley's," we have no copies. The Committee, feeling that the earlier Papers of the Society ought not to be lost sight of, instructed me to do what I could to get copies of these old Papers, which are in themselves now many of them Antiquarian and Historical. The note "MSS. Copy" in the following list shows that we have now a copy in manuscript of that particular paper, or that copies will in due course be made. No doubt some of these ought to be reprinted, as they are now of considerable importance and interest. A good many Papers were printed in the *Herts Advertiser* and *St. Albans Times*, which would otherwise have been lost altogether, and I am indebted to Mr. A. E. Gibbs for ready access to the files of that paper.

I. RELATING TO ST. ALBAN'S AND THE COUNTY.

1846, 14th October—Sir Edward Grimston's Account of His Escape from the Bastile after a Captivity of Nineteen Months. [He died A.D. 1599]—Rev. Dr. Nicholson.

1846, October—Wallingford Chapel, etc.—Rev. Dr. Nicholson—MSS. Copy from *County Press*, 17th October, 1846.

1847, 7th April—Restorations and Improvements in the Abbey Church made from the Ticket Fund for admission of Visitors—MSS. Copy from *County Press*.

1847, 7th April—Remarks on the Suitableness of the Abbey Church of St. Alban for a Cathedral—Rev. Charles Boutell—MSS. Copy from *County Press*.

1847, 25th August—Elementary Principles of Gothic Architecture, illustrated as far as possible, from the neighbourhood of Hertford—G. W. Lydekker.

1847, 6th October—Ancient Verulam—G. W. Lydekker.

1847, 17th June—Repairs and Restorations of Churches in the County—Rev. C. Pearson.

1848, 12th April—Fresco, Lately Discovered in the Abbey Church—Messrs. Buckler—MSS. Copy from *County Press*.

1848, 12th April—Coins Found at Verulam—John Evans—Original MSS. List in Possession of the Society.

1848, 12th April—The Roman Theatre Recently Discovered at Verulam—R. Grove Lowe—Published for Society by Bell, in 1848. The Society has no copy. One in L. Evans' Collection—Report in the *County Press* of Meeting, 15th April, 1848.

1849, 20th June—On a Fragment of a Flemish Brass, supposed to be the work of the same artist as the Delamare Brass, now in private possession—Rev. Charles Boutell—Report in the *County Press*, 23rd June, 1849—Original MSS. in the Society's possession.

1849, 20th June—The Martyrdom of George Tankerfield—Rev. Richard Gee—MSS. Copy. Report in the *County Press*, 23rd June, 1849.

1849, 20th June—Roman Sepulchral Remains from St. Stephen's—M. H. Bloxam—Published for Society by G. Bell, 1849—Report in the *County Press*, 23rd June, 1849.

1849, 31st October—On Ancient Verulam—R. Grove Lowe.

1850, 17th June—The Monastery of St. Alban's—Rev. H. Hall—MSS. Copy. Report in the *County Press*, 22nd June, 1850.

1850, 17th June—Ancient Seals in England, with Remarks upon one recently found in the Abbey Church—W. Donaldson—Report in *County Press*, 22nd June, 1850.

1850, 23rd October—Local Tokens—John Evans—Report in *County Press*, 2nd November, 1850.

1850, 23rd October—On some Account of Relics preserved in a Church at Cologne, considered to be part of the Body of St. Alban—Rev. Dr. Nicholson—Associated Architectural Societies' Reports and Papers for 1850, p. 198.

1850, 23rd October—Notice of a Bone Seal discovered in the Abbey Church, St. Alban's—Albert Way—Report in *County Press*, 2nd Nov., 1850. Associated Architectural Society's Reports and Papers for 1850, p. 208.

1851, 17th June—Coffins found at the West End of the Abbey Church—Rev. Dr. Nicholson—MSS. Copy.

1851, 17th June—The Two Langleys—Rev. R. Gee—1853. The first edition was cancelled. The Society has no copy of either. In the L. Evans' Collection is a copy of the cancelled edition.

1851, 24th September—Notes on Excavations in the Abbey Orchard —R. Grove Lowe.

1852, 14th April.—Notes on Seven Skeletons recently found in the old Sumpter Yard—Rev. Dr. Nicholson—MSS. Copy from *County Press.*

1852, 17th June—The Roman Villa at Boxmoor—John Evans—The Account of Excavation of Two Roman Villas, communicated to the Society of Antiquaries, and published 1853. *See* Archæologia xxiv. 394; xxxv. 56. The Society has no copy. See L. Evans' Collection.

1853, 30th March—The Watton Brasses—Mr. Clarke, Diocesan Architect.

1853, 17th June—Restorations effected in the Abbey during the past year—Rev. Dr. Nicholson—MSS. Copy from *County Press.*

1854, 15th June—The Second Battle of St. Alban's—R. Grove Lowe.

1855, 11th April—Sopwell Nunnery—W. L. Donaldson.

1855, 19th June—Restoration effected in the Abbey during the past year, and on the proper day for St. Alban's Festival—Rev. Dr. Nicholson—Original MSS.

1856, 17th June—A Walking Lecture in St. Alban's Abbey—G. Gilbert Scott—MSS. Copy from *County Press.*

1858, 14th April—The Press of St. Alban's, The Boke of St. Alban's, and other books printed there—Arthur Ashpital.

1858, 17th June—Names of Localities in Hertfordshire—Rev. H. Hall—Published 1859. The East Herts Archæological Society published a reprint in 1902.

1859, 17th June—The Present State and Proposed Restoration of the Clock Tower, St. Albans—Professor Donaldson.

1859, 24th October—On the Coins found upon and near the Site of Ancient Verulam—John Evans. Numismatic Chronicle, xx. 101.

1860, 15th June—Remarks on the Restoration of the Abbey—G. Gilbert Scott.

1860, 22nd October—On the Life and Times of Offa, King of the Mercians—W. L. Donaldson, junior.

1862, 17th June—Remarks on the Abbey Restorations—Rev. Dr. Nicholson.

1862, 14th October—The Story of an Illustrious Neighbour, Lord Bacon—Rev. R. Gee—Published by Society, 1863.

1863, 17th June—Local Peculiarities in Architectural Design—Rev. Owen W. Davys.

1864, 17th June—Remarks on Roman Remains found at Harpenden —John Evans.

1865, 13th July—Wheathampstead Church—Rev. O. W. Davys.

1866, 27th February—A Paper without a Title—Rev. O. W. Davys —*Herts Advertiser*, 3rd March, 1866. MSS. Copy.

1870, 20th July—Sandridge Church—Rev. O. W. Davys—*Herts Advertiser*, 30th July, 1870. MSS. Copy.

1870, 20th July—Antiquities in and near East Herts—W. Pollard.

1871, 3rd August—Legends of the Hermits, Roger and Sigar, and of the Prioress, Christina—Ridgway Lloyd—*Herts Advertiser*, 12th August, 1871.

1871, 3rd August—A Word on the Restoration of St. Alban's Abbey —Rev. O. W. Davys—*Herts Advertiser*, 12th August, 1871.

1872, 27th June—Shrines and Altars in St. Alban's Abbey— —Ridgway Lloyd—A Report is in a Book of Newspaper Cuttings belonging to the Society.

1872, 27th June—Works in Progress at the Abbey—G. Gilbert Scott—A Report is in a Book of Newspaper Cuttings belonging to the Society.

1874, 19th January—On the Work of Restoration in St. Alban's Abbey—John Chapple. MSS. Copy.

1876, 22nd February—The Boundary Wall of St. Alban's Monastery —Rev. H. Fowler—In "Three Papers," published by Society in 1876.

1876, 22nd February—On the Recently Discovered Paintings upon the Choir Ceiling of St. Alban's Abbey Church—Ridgway Lloyd—In "Three Papers," published by Society, 1876. Also published in the "Sacristy," by permission of the Society.

1876, 22nd February—On the Work of Restoration in St. Alban's Abbey Church—John Chapple—In "Three Papers," published by Society in 1876. In the Library.

1876, 19th July—The Choir of St. Alban's Abbey—Rev. O. W. Davys—Published in the *Church Builder*, No. LX., 1876. In the Library.

1876, 19th July—The Architecture of St. Alban's Abbey—J. Neale —Published in the *Church Builder*, No. LX., 1876. In the Library.

1876, 19th July—On the Architecture of St. Alban's Abbey— G. Gilbert Scott—A Newspaper Report in the Book of Newspaper Cuttings belonging to the Society.

1877, 11th October—A Glance at the Restoration Works in St. Alban's Cathedral, finished, in progress and to come—Rev. O. W. Davys—A Newspaper Report in the Book of Newspaper Cuttings belonging to the Society.

1877, 11th October—A Few Remarks on the Present Discoveries in and about St. Alban's Abbey—John Chapple—A Newspaper Report in the Book of Newspaper Cuttings belonging to the Society.

1877, 11th October—A Mediæval Pilgrimage to the Shrine of St. Alban—Ridgway Lloyd—A Newspaper Report in the Book of Newspaper Cuttings belonging to the Society.

1877, 11th October—The Origin of the Cell of Tynemouth and its Second Founder—Rev. H. Fowler—A Newspaper Report in the Book of Newspaper Cuttings belonging to the Society.

1878, 17th December—On the Decorative Paintings of the Norman Period in St. Alban's Cathedral—C. E. Keyser—A Newspaper Report in the Book of Newspaper Cuttings belonging to the Society.

1878, 17th December—On the Nave Roof of St. Alban's Cathedral —J. Oldrid Scott—A Newspaper Report in the Book of Newspaper Cuttings belonging to the Society.

1881, 30th June—On the Recently Discovered St. Alban's Parish Register—Rev. Dr. Griffith—A Newspaper Report in a Book of Newspaper Cuttings belonging to the Society.

1881, 30th June—A Brief Review of the Restoration Works, since 1887, in St. Alban's Cathedral—Rev. Canon Davys—Published 1881. The Society has no copy. One in L. Evans' Collection.

1882, 12th January—On the Death and Burial of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester—Rev. Dr. Griffith—MSS. Copy.

1882, 12th January—On the *Liber Benefactorum* of St. Alban's Abbey—Rev. H. Fowler.

1882, 12th January—A Question of Precedency in St. Alban's in the 17th Century—Ridgway Lloyd.

1882, 28th September—Notes on John Bunyan, and Coleman Green—Rev. Dr. Griffith—MSS. Copy.

1882, 28th September—Notes on Upper Beech Hyde Farm, and the Devil's Dyke—Rev. Dr. Griffith—MSS. Copy.

1882, 28th September—Marford Bridge and Ford—Ridgway Lloyd. —MSS. Copy.

1882, 28th September—The Ruined Church of Ayot St. Lawrence —Rev. Canon Davys—"Transactions," 1886, p. 9.

1882, 28th September—Notes on No-Man's-Land—Rev. Dr. Griffith. —MSS. Copy.

1884, 30th January—St. Alban's Corporation Plate—Rev. Dr. Griffith.

1884, 30th January—Hertfordshire Monumental Inscriptions and Tokens—W. F. Andrews.

1884, 27th May—The Church of St. John the Baptist, Royston—Rev. H. Fowler—"Transactions," 1884, p. 5.

1884, 27th May—Therfield—Rev. J. G. Hale—"Transactions," 1885, p. 19.

1884, 27th May—Notes on Anstey Castle—Rev. Canon Davys—"Transactions," 1885, p. 29.

1884, 27th May—Anstey Church—Rev. Canon Davys—"Transactions," 1885, p. 29.

1885, 23rd January—Note on the Connexion of some of the Building Abbots of Peterborough with St. Alban's Abbey—Rev. H. Fowler.

1885, 23rd January—The Parish Church of St. Leonard, Sandridge —Rev. Dr. Griffith—"Transactions," Vol. II. N.S., p. 33.

1885, 4th June—St. Mary's Church, Baldock—Rev. Canon Davys—"Transactions," 1885, p. 8.

1885, 4th June—Note on a Monumental Slab in the Church of St. Mary, Baldock—Rev. H. Fowler—"Transactions," 1885, p. 11.

1885, 4th June—All Saints' Church, Radwell—Rev. Canon Davys —"Transactions," 1885, p. 13.

1885, 4th June—Ashwell, and its Parish Church of St. Mary—Rev. H. Fowler—"Transactions," 1885, p. 14.

1885, 4th June—Note on an Ancient Effigy in St. Mary's, formerly St. Andrew's, Hitchin—Rev. H. Fowler—"Transactions," 1885, p. 26.

1885, 4th June—St. Mary's Church, Hitchin—S. Flint Clarkson—"Transactions," 1889, p. 64.

1885, 4th June—Notes on the Biggin and Almshouses at Hitchin—Rev. Dr. Griffith.

1886, 15th September—Ware Priory—R. Walters—"Transactions," p. 47.

1886, 15th September—Bengeo Old Church Plate and Old Registers —Rev. J. C. M. Mansell-Pleydell—"Transactions," 1886, p. 47.

1886, 15th September—St. Leonard's Church, Bengeo—Gerard Gosselin—"Transactions," 1887, p. 91.

1886, 15th September—Notes on the Navigation of the Lea between Hertford and Ware from 1600 to 1814—R. T. Andrews—"Transactions," 1887, p. 97 and "Transactions," 1888, p. 51.

1886, 15th September—Notes on Ware Church, previous to its restoration in 1848—Rev. R. Higgins.

1887, 22nd April—Church Plate in the Deaneries of Baldock and Hitchin—Rev. E. R. Gardiner—"Transactions," 1887, p. 9.

1887, 22nd April—Notes on Ancient Stained Glass in the N. Aisle of St. Peter's Church, St. Alban's—Rev. H. Fowler—MSS. Copy.

1887, 5th August—Redbourn Bury—Rev. H. Fowler—"Transactions," p. 40.

1887, 5th August—The Benedictine Cell of Redbourn—Rev. H. Fowler—"Transactions," 1887, p. 40.

1887, 5th August—Redbourn Church—Rev. Canon Davys—"Transactions," 1887, p. 57.

1887, 5th August—The Pecok Brasses at Redbourn—Rev. H. Fowler—"Transactions," 1887, p. 64.

1887, 5th August—Monument of Sir Richard Reade, in Redbourn Church—Rev. H. Fowler—"Transactions," 1887, p. 65.

1887, 5th August—Redbourn Camp—Rev. Dr. Griffith—"Transactions," 1887, p. 66.

1887, 5th August—Flamstead—S. Flint Clarkson—"Transactions," 1887, p. 69.

1887, 5th August—Ancient Tomb with Effigies, Flamstead—Rev. H. Fowler—"Transactions," 1887, p. 84.

1887, 5th August—The Saunders' Almhouses at Flamstead, and the Pemberton Almshouses at St. Alban's—S. Flint Clarkson—"Transactions," 1887, p. 88.

1888, 2nd August—Wheathampstead—Rev. Canon Davys—"Transactions," 1888, p. 9.

1888, 2nd August—Wayside Chapel at Gustard Wood Common—Rev. Canon Davys—"Transactions," 1888, p. 9.

1888, 2nd August—Kimpton—F. Trevor Davys—"Transactions," 1888, p. 15.

1888, 2nd August—St. Paul's Walden—S. Flint Clarkson—"Transactions," 1888, p. 19.

1888, 2nd August—King's Walden—Rev. H. Fowler—"Transactions," 1888, p. 34.

1888, 2nd August—Great Offley—Rev. Dr. Griffith.

1889, 1st August—Notes on the Church of St. Helen and Ecclesiastical History of Wheathampstead—Rev. Canon Davys—"Transactions," 1889, p. 12.

1889, 1st August—Mackery End—Rev. H. Fowler—"Transactions," 1889, p. 22.

1889, 1st August—Mackery End House, and its Inhabitants—R. L. Howard and Rev. H. Fowler—"Transactions," 1889, p. 27.

1889, 13th September—Broxbourne Church—F. W. Kinneir Tarte—"Transactions," 1889, p. 46.

1889, 13th September—Notes on the Rye House, etc.—Rev. Dr. Griffith.

1889, 13th September—Nether Hall—Wentworth Huyshe.

1889, 5th December—Sites of Monastic Buildings Recently Excavated in the Abbey Orchard Field—Rev. H. Fowler—"Transactions," 1888, p. 52.

1889, 5th December—The Stones found in the Abbey Orchard Field—S. Flint Clarkson—"Transactions," 1889, p. 59.

1889, 5th December—Stones of the Ancient Church of St. Mary the Great, Hertford, discovered in 1888, near the Old Cross, Hertford—R. T. Andrews.

1890, 16th June—Much Hadham Church—F. W. Kinneir Tarte—"Transactions," 1890-1, p. 14.

1890, 16th June—Notes on Much Hadham Registers, etc.—Rev. Dr. Griffith.

1890, 16th June—Standon Church—Rev. H. R. Wetherall, and C. Giles-Puller.

1890, 7th August—Berkhampstead Castle—Rev. H. Fowler—"Transactions," 1890-1, p. 17.

1890, 7th August—Notes on St. Mary's Church, Hemelhempstead—Trevor Davys—"Transactions," 1890-1, p. 28.

1891, 6th August—Notes on St. Ippollytt's Church and Parish—Rev. Canon Davys—"Transactions," 1890-1, p. 36.

1891, 6th August—The Six Hills, Stevenage—Rev. H. Fowler—"Transactions," 1890-1, p. 36.

1891, 6th August—St. Nicholas Church, Stevenage—S. Flint Clarkson—"Transactions," 1890-1, p. 48.

1898, 6th August—Aston Bury—F. Trevor Davys—"Transactions," 1890-1, p. 63.

A Grant of a Manor in Studham—John Evans—"Transactions," 1890-1, p. 32.

1892, 29th March—Some Old Lawsuits connected with St. Alban's—W. J. Hardy—"Transactions," 1892, p. 10.

1893, 17th May—The Marian Survey of St. Alban's—W. Page—"Transactions," 1893-4, p. 8.

1893, 5th June—Tyttenhanger—Rev. H. Fowler—"Transactions," 1893-4, p. 30.

1894, 1st June—Abbot's Langley Church—F. W. Kinneir Tarte.

1894, 1st June—Langley Priory—Rev. H. Fowler.

1894, 1st June—King's Langley Church—S. Flint Clarkson.

1894, 1st June—Aldenham Church—Rev. K. Gibbs—"Transactions," 1894, p. 47.

1894, 29th May—The History of the Monastery of St. Mary de Pré—W. Page—"Transactions," N.S., Vol. I., p. 8.

1895, 7th June—Notes on the Remains of Verulamium—W. Page—"Transactions," 1893-4, p. 49.

1896, 11th May—The Gateway of the Pemberton Almshouses, St. Alban's—S. Flint Clarkson—"Transactions," N.S., Vol. I., p. 20.

1896, 11th May—Notes and Memoranda on some Hertfordshire Churches at the Beginning of this Century—H. R. Wilton Hall—"Transactions," N.S., Vol. I., p. 29.

1896, 16th June—Watford Church—Rev. Canon Davys—"Transactions, N.S., Vol. I., p. 60.

1896, 16th June—Cassiobury Park—Rev. H. Fowler—"Transactions," N.S., Vol. I., p. 64.

1896, 16th June—Rickmansworth—Rev. Canon Davys.

1896, 16th June—Sarratt—F. Trevor Davys—"Transactions," Vol. I., p. 58 and p. 69.

1897, 9th July—The Parochial Chapel of St. Andrew, formerly attached to St. Alban's Abbey—W. Page—"Transactions," N.S., Vol. I., p. 48.

1897, 10th November—Lady Cathcart and her Husbands—W. J. Hardy—"Transactions," N.S., Vol. I., p. 119.

1898, 25th February—St. Peter's Church, St. Alban's—W. Carey Morgan—"Transactions," N.S., Vol. I., p. 135.

1897, 25th February—The Norman West Front of St. Alban's Abbey—W. Page—"Transactions," N.S., Vol. I., p. 130.

1898, 3rd November—A Romano-British Kiln, discovered at Radlett—W. Page—"Transactions," N.S., Vol. I., p. 176.

1898, 16th December—A M.S. Map of St. Alban's, by Benjamin Hare, dated 1634—Charles Wilton—Paper and Map published by Society separately.

1898, 16th December—Cups, Circles, and other Marks on Hertfordshire Churches—V. H. Wyatt Wingrave—"Transactions," N S., Vol. I., p. 185.

1899, 28th February—St. Alban's from an Artist's Point of View—F. G. Kitton.

1899, 21st March—Notes on Some Mediæval MSS. of St. Alban's Abbey in the British Museum—Andrew Oliver.

1899, 21st March—Some Recent Excavations on the Site of Verulam, 1898-9—W. Page—"Transactions," Vol. I., p. 198.

1899, 3rd November—A Twelfth Century Psalter from St. Alban's Abbey, found at Hildesheim—W. Page.

1899, 3rd November—The Father of Inland Navigation—S. Flint Clarkson—"Transactions," N S, Vol. I, p. 211.

1900, 1st February—St. Alban's as a Village Community—A. C. Bickley—"Transactions," N S., Vol. I., p. 215.

1900, 13th March—The Old Inns of St. Alban's—F. G. Kitton—"Transactions," N.S., Vol. I., p. 233.

1900, 8th April—"The Black Death," and its Effects, with special reference to St. Alban's—Mrs. M. C. Knight—"Transactions," N.S, Vol. I, p. 262.

Note on the Inscription in Ashwell Church—Charles Johnson—"Transactions," N.S., Vol. I., p. 277.

1901, 15th February—Dr. Richard Lee, of Hatfield, and his son, Richard Lee, of Essendon—H. R. Wilton Hall—"Transactions," N.S., Vol. I., p. 282.

1901, 15th February—Sandridge Parish Accounts—H. R. Wilton Hall—"Transactions," N.S., Vol. I., p. 289.

1901, 15th March—The Clock Tower, St. Alban's; its Origin and History—F. G. Kitton—"Transactions," N.S., Vol. I., p. 298.

1901, 1st November—The Lesser Domestic Architecture of Hertfordshire—A. Whitford Anderson—"Transactions," N.S., Vol. I., p. 357.

1902, 11th July—Some Notes on Hatfield—W. Page—"Transactions," N.S., Vol. I., p. 334.

1902, 13th March—Methods Employed in Producing Mediæval Paintings: The Paintings discovered at the White Hart, St. Alban's—F. G. Kitton—"Transactions," Vol. I., p. 376.

1902, 13th March—Mural Paintings at Rothamsted—Victor T. Hodgson—"Transactions," N.S., Vol. I., p. 378.

1902, 13th March—Mural Colour Decoration at Mr. H. J. Thurnall's House at Royston—F. W. Kinneir Tarte—"Transactions," N.S., Vol. I., p. 385.

1902, 16th May—Further Excavations on the Site of Verulamium—W. Page—"Transactions," N.S., Vol. I., p. 396.

1902, 16th May—The Mediæval School of Mural Paintings at St. Alban's—W. Page.

The Rev. H. Fowler's Papers—H. R. Wilton Hall—"Transactions," Vol. I., p. 398.

St. Michael's Pulpit—F. W. Kinneir Tarte—"Transactions," N.S., Vol. I., p. 403.

1902, 31st October—On the History and Times of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and his Connection with the Abbey of St. Alban's—Mrs. M. C. Knight—"Transactions," N.S., Vol. II., p. 51.

1902, 2nd December—County Maps, and the Books in which they are found, with special reference to the Maps of Hertfordshire—H. G. Fordham.

1903, 19th February—St. Wulstan, and his Connection with St. Alban's—Mrs. Henderson—"Transactions," N.S., Vol. II.

1903, 23rd April—Some Ornamental Carvings in Herts Churches—A. Whitford Anderson—"Transactions," N.S., Vol. II., p. 5.

1904, 6th May—Early Pigeon Houses—G. Mowat—"Transactions," N.S., Vol. II., p. 29.

Besides these there are several Papers which were contributed at various Excursions during the last five years, some of them of great interest, but no record has been kept of them in the Minutes of the Society.*

II. GENERAL.

1846, 19th February—Monumental Brasses and Incised Slabs—Rev. Charles Boutell.

1846, 19th February—On the Progressive Development of English Church Architecture—J. Arthur Brandon.

1846, 6th May—Anglo-Norman Architecture—Rev. Charles Boutell.

1846, 20th May—Early English Gothic Architecture—Rev. Charles Boutell.

1846, 17th June—Monumental Brasses—Rev. Charles Boutell.

1846, 17th June—Head Crosses and other Churchyard Monumental Memorials—Matthew Holbech Bloxam—Report in *County Press*, 27th June, 1846.

1846, 14th October—Armour as worn in England anterior to the reign of Henry VII.—Rev. Charles Boutell.

1847, 7th April—Assimilation in Gothic Architecture as exemplified in the Abbey Churches of St. Alban's and St. Peter's, Westminster—J. Brandon.

1847, 17th June—Norman Architecture—E. Laing.

1847, 17th June—Bascilicas of Ancient Christian Churches—H. L. Donaldson.

1847, 25th August—Sepulchral Monuments—Rev. Charles Boutell.

1847, 6th October—Heraldry—J. T. Lipscomb—Original MSS. in the Society's possession.

1848, 17th June—Monumental Records—Rev. R. Gee.

1848, 17th June—The Subterranean Structures of Egypt—Professor Donaldson.

1849, 3rd October—Gothic Architecture—Rev. T. F. Lee.

1849, 31st October—On the Tapestry of Bayeux—Rev. T. F. Lee.

1849, 31st October—On the Rise and Progress of the Art of Coinage—John Evans—Numismatic Chronicle, xii. 107.

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* Mr. F. G. Kitton conducted two Tours through the Streets of St. Alban's, and his Papers were printed in the *Herts Advertiser* of 1st July, 1899, and 16th June, 1900. Mr. C. H. Ashdown read a paper on the Great Gateway on another occasion; see Transactions, Vol. II., N.S., p. 88.

1851, 24th September—The Pyramids of Lower Egypt—Mr. Key.
1852, 14th April—Epitaph Literature in England—Shirley Brooks.
1852, 14th October—A Walk in Old London – Rev. R. Gee.
1852, 14th October—Celts—John Evans.
1853, 30th March—Assyrian Architecture—Mr. Fergusson.
1853, 17th June—The Royal Tombs in Westminster Abbey, round the Shrine of Edward the Confessor—Professor Donaldson
1854, 15th June—The Condition, Social and Political of the Ancient Britons—Rev. J. Taddy.
1855, 11th April – Bricks and Brick Buildings—Rev. R. Gee—Published by Society, 1855.
1855, 19th June—The Palaces of the Louvre and Tuilleries—Professor Donaldson.
1856, 17th June—Colour in Architecture—Rev. G. Ayliffe Poole.
1856, 15th October—The Jewish Coinage—John Evans.
1856, 15th October—Curiosities of Heraldry—Rev. R. Gee.
1857, 17th June—Compo, Stucco Fresco & Co.—Rev R. Gee.
1858, 14th April—Metal Work of the Middle Ages—F. S. Skidmore.
1858, 17th June—Metal Work of the Middle Ages—F. S. Skidmore.
1859, 17th June—Boundaries and Fences—Sergeant Woolrych.
1859, 24th October—The Architecture of the South of Europe—Rev. J. L. Petit.
1860, 15th June—Works of Art in the Drift, or Man amongst the Mammoths—John Evans—*See* Archæologia, xxxviii. 280, xxxix. 57.
1860, 22nd October—A certain Monastic and other Ruins in Lincolnshire—W. Pollard.
1861, 18th October—The Dwellings of the Poor—Robert Dimsdale.
1861, 17th June—On the Needlework of Earlier Days—Rev. R. Gee.
1864, 17th June—Bridges—Rev. R. Gee.
1864, 17th June—Bone Caves in the South of France—John Evans.—*See* Reliquiæ Aquitaineæ, 1876, p. 161.
1866, 27th February—Church Bells—Rev. R. Gee.
1870, 20th July—Campanology—Ridgway Lloyd.
1874—Notes on the Ruined Cathedrals of Scotland—Rev. E. D. Kershaw.
1883, 20th September—Dunstable Priory Church—Rev. Canon Davys—"Transactions," 1883.
1883, 20th September—Documentary History of Dunstable Priory—Ridgway Lloyd—"Transactions," 1883.
1883, 20th September—Notes on the Registers and "Fayrey Pall"—Rev. Dr. Griffith.
1883, 20th September—Totternhoe Stone—A. F. Griffith.
1883, 20th September—Totternhoe Church—Rev. H. Fowler.
1884, 30th January—The Cistercian Monastery of Maulbronne—Rev. H. Fowler.
1885, 23rd January—The Central Lantern Tower of Peterborough Cathedral—Rev. Canon Davys.
1886, 25th May—Notes on the Priory of St. Neot, Huntingdon—Rev. H. Fowler—"Transactions," 1886, p. 15.
1886, 25th May—St. Mary's Church, St. Neot's—S. Flint Clarkson—"Transactions," 1886, p. 28.
1889, 1st August—Ancient Common Field Tillage—Rev. Dr. Griffith.
1887, 21st October—Antiquities discovered in the Delta of the Nile—F. L. Griffith.

1889, 1st August—Someries Castle—Rev. H. Fowler—"Transactions," 1889, p. 31.

1889, 5th December—Notes on Ancient Floor Tiles in Winchester Cathedral and elsewhere—F. W. Kinneir Tarte.

1890, 4th December—English Brasses of the 13th, 14th, and 15th Centuries—Andrew Oliver.

1890, 4th December—Caister Castle—Morton M. Glover.

1892, 29th March—Bede, and the Church in which he worshipped—Rev. Canon Liddell.

1892, 4th August—Ivinghoe Church—Rev. H. Fowler—"Transactions," 1892, p. 24.

1892, 4th August—Edlesborough, Buckinghamshire—F. Trevor Davys—"Transactions," 1892, p. 33.

1892, 4th August—St. Mary's, Eaton Bray—Rev. Canon Davys—"Transactions," 1892, p. 42.

1893, 5th June—South Mimms—F. Trevor Davys—"Transactions," 1893-4, p 25.

1895, 7th June—Notes on Abbeys and other ruins existing near the River Witham, in Lincolnshire—W. Pollard.

1895, 1st August—Saffron Walden Church—Rev. E. W. Layton.

1896, 16th June—Chenies—S. Flint Clarkson—"Transactions," N.S., Vol. I., p. 57.

1897, 18th August—Conventual Church of St. Mary and St. Helen, Elstow—Rev. Canon Davys—"Transactions," N.S., Vol. I., p. 107.

1897, 18th August—Collegiate Church of St. Paul, Bedford—Rev. H. Fowler—"Transactions," Vol. I., p. 110.

1900, 25th October—Our National Heritage—Hugh Blakiston.

1901, 22nd April—An Italian Financial House in the Fourteenth Century—Charles Johnson—"Transactions," N.S., Vol. I., p. 320.

1902, 27th February—The Elements of Heraldry—Charles Johnson.

1902, 30th April—English Mediæval Armour—C. H. Ashdown—"Transactions," N.S , Vol. I., p. 388.

1903, 11th December—Parish Registers and Genealogies: How to write a Family History—C. Hulton Le Maistre.

St. Albans and Herts Architectural and Archæological Society.

BALANCE SHEET FOR 1902.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.
Balance at Bank, Jan. 1st, 1902	41	7	3
Subscriptions	64	11	6
Sale of Transactions		15	0
Interest on Consols		10	4
Petty Cash in Hon. Secs. hands on Jan. 1st, 1902		8	3
	£107	12	4

EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.
Printing and Publishing "Transaction"	47	16	2
Subscriptions—To Herts County Museum	5	0	0
To National Trust	1	1	0
Purchase of Books for Library		17	0
Stationery and Postage	1	4	1
Photographs to illustrate Lecture on Duke Humphrey		8	3
Lantern Slides for Lecture on Heraldry		3	0
Oxygen Gas for Lantern Lectures		6	0
Large Envelopes for MSS. in Library		4	6
Battens for hanging Diagrams		2	0
Incidental Expenses at Excursions		15	1
Cheque Book		2	0
Petty Cash in Hon. Secs. hands, Dec. 31st, 1902		5	7
	58	4	8
Balance at Bank, Dec. 31st, 1902	49	7	8
	£107	12	4

HENRY J. TOULMIN,
Hon. Treasurer.

G. N. MARTEN,
Hon. Auditor.

St. Albans and Herts Architectural and Archæological Society.

BALANCE SHEET FOR 1903.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.
Balance at Bank, January 1st, 1903	49	7	8
Subscriptions	55	13	0
Sale of Transactions		1	6
Interest on Consols		9	10
Petty Cash in Hon. Secretary's hands, Jan. 1st, 1903		5	7
	£105	17	7

EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Petty Cash, expenses, including—						
Expenses of Lectures		7	0			
Excursions—Cambridge	3	0	10			
Grammar School		5	0			
Kimpton		8	6			
Various Postage		5	1			
Fire Insurance, Library		5	3			
				4	11	8
Subscription to National Trust				1	1	0
Book bought from East Herts Archæological Society					5	0
Messrs. R. Taylor & Co., Blocks for Illustrations				14	3	0
Herts Natural History Society				5	0	0
Rent of Room, Herts County Museum				5	0	0
Printing—Messrs. Gibbs & Bamforth, Ltd.				2	18	6
Mr. Richardson				5	17	3
Subscription to Restoration of Abbey Gateway				2	2	0
Subscription to Herts County Museum				3	3	0
In hand				5	15	5
				49	16	10
Balance at Bank, December 31st, 1903				56	0	9
				£105	17	7

Examined and found correct,

C. HARRIS. 5th May, 1904.

HENRY J. TOULMIN,

Hon. Treasurer.

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